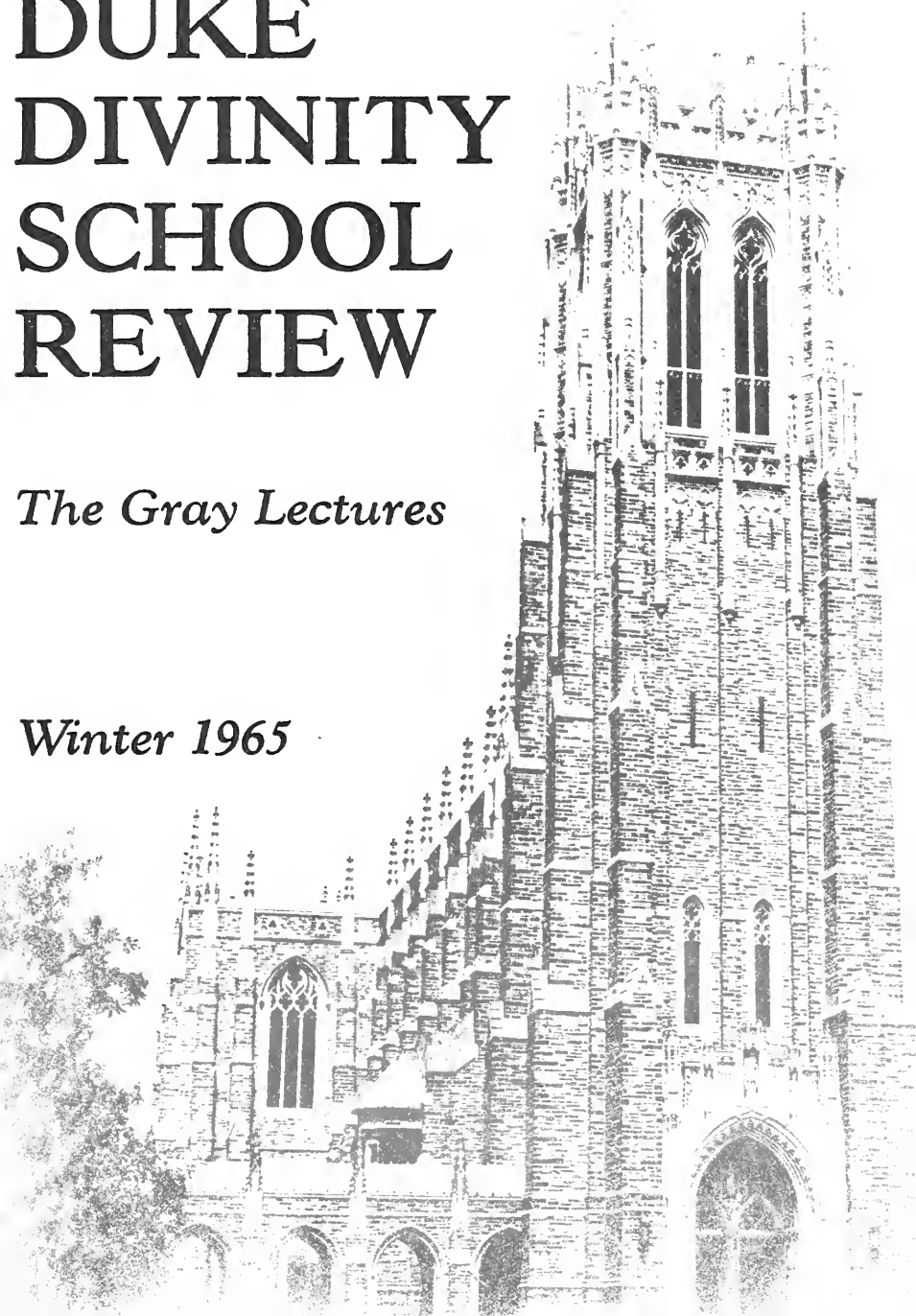


THE DUKE DIVINITY SCHOOL REVIEW

The Gray Lectures

Winter 1965



The Lecturers

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THE
DUKE
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REVIEW

The James A. Gray Lectures
on
“The Second Vatican Council”

by

FATHER GODFREY L. DIEKMANN, O.S.B.

and

DEAN ROBERT E. CUSHMAN

Volume 30

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Prolegomena to the Gray Lectures (1964)

The Gray Lectureship at the Divinity School of Duke University is one outcome of a fund which was presented to the Divinity School in 1946 by the late James A. Gray, business man and philanthropist of Winston-Salem, as part of the Methodist College Advance of the two North Carolina conferences of The Methodist Church. The purpose of the fund is to expand and maintain the educational services of the Divinity School "in behalf of the North Carolina churches and pastors." In partial fulfillment of this intent, the Gray Lectureship was established.

The Lectures, ordinarily four in number, have been delivered annually by an invited lecturer since 1950. The speakers have come from various Protestant denominations, from the parish and academic ministries, from varied fields of special interest. They have usually spoken during the Christian Convocation and North Carolina Pastors' School, of recent years held in late October. Most of the Gray Lectures have appeared in print.

More than once a question has been asked informally and desultorily, yet seriously, among the Divinity School faculty: "Is it time to invite a Roman Catholic scholar to deliver the Gray Lectures?" The negative answer was almost always posited on the assumption, valid or otherwise, that our clientele was not ready for it. Then, in the economy of God, Pope John XXIII sat down on Peter's chair, with a homey, humble, effective, original authority which startled and delighted both the Christian churches and the secular world. If ecumenical Protestantism ever decides to canonize anyone, Angelo Giuseppe Roncalli has a legitimate claim to be its first Saint, *honoris causa*. He was the unwitting prime mover in the preparation for the 1964 Gray Lectures.

The Gray Lectures Committee wisely decided to make Dean Cushman, Methodist observer at the Second Vatican Council, its agent in the search for a Roman Catholic speaker. He cooperated with vigor, wisdom, and effectiveness. Only twice did he waver, once when from Rome he suggested that the matter be postponed until a later date. But the committee, led by Professors Clark and Lacy, was unanimous in declining to be influenced by the Dean's cold

feet. To his credit, his feet warmed up of their own accord before the committee's courteous, but adamant, refusal reached him. So the hunt was on for a man: a scholar, a communicator, an ecumenist, a Christian. While in Rome, Dean Cushman had become friends with Father Godfrey L. Diekmann, O.S.B., of Saint John's Abbey in Minnesota. He is a leading liturgist in Roman Catholic circles in the U.S.A., a man of winsome, yet strong, personality, and one who loves his separated brethren. He had all kinds of legitimate reasons for declining our invitation to be the Gray Lecturer—work, health, weariness. But he accepted. In October, he came; he was seen; he conquered.

There is one more preliminary fact to be added. The committee had decided that there should be two Gray Lecturers in 1964: one a Roman Catholic, the other a distinguished Protestant, who should be our own Dean. He demurred. But the committee was deaf, with the deafness of those who will not hear. This was our second refusal to accept his hesitancy. He was drafted. If pride were not a sin, we could say: "He did us proud."

It was somewhat breathlessly that we awaited the October event. What amazed us was the participation of our separated Roman Catholic brethren, priests and nuns, in surprising numbers, so conspicuous because of their habits. If there was any brooding Protestant sullenness, it was submerged by excitement, anticipation, and goodwill. The speakers were heard with attention, surprise, and enthusiasm. The question period was sometimes penetrating, always interesting, and never unseemly. Folk wanted the truth; they heard it spoken, in love. The resultant mail has been laudatory and grateful.

Father Diekmann must needs return to the campus. Our admiration of him is penetrated with affection. We listened spellbound to his erudition and his capacity to make us understand what he was elucidating—what a teacher! We gave ear—enthralled with his humor, his sensitive appreciation of Protestantism, his gentle criticism of both branches of the Church. One puzzled listener told me that he could not understand how Father Diekmann could remain a Roman Catholic. You should have heard the roar of glorious laughter when I relayed that tidbit to our guest. (Of course, he and I had one common ground: we both smoke pipes stuffed with "Revelation." We chatted in an atmosphere of holy smoke.) Like you who sat at his feet, I long for another opportunity of being with this great and good man of God.

Dean Cushman made us hold up our heads as Protestants. Once again, he caused some of us to regret that he has to be an academic

Solomon, building institutional temples. We need him as a theologian, full-time, in the classroom, as advisor to the Council of Bishops, as the author of the books which he carries so uncomfortably *in petto*. Why is a teacher of proven renown and of even greater promise metamorphosed into a Dean? Probably God knows, but He hasn't told us. Yet, in God's providence, Dean Cushman is giving our Divinity School a valid reputation and a fair name, the like of which it never had before. We, his colleagues, and you, who are alumni, bask in the warmth and light of his reflected glory. Duke is known, nationally and internationally, primarily because of him. He was at his worthy best as a Gray Lecturer.

How does one tell a great moment in history? Only years after? It seems likely that the Convocation of 1964 will be such a moment. It was evidenced and symbolized primarily in the Chapel services held in conjunction with the Gray Lectures. To see Protestants and Roman Catholics worshipping together, singing the same hymns, saying "Amen" to the same prayers, cooperating quietly with the Divinity School Choir in the anthems, and listening to the Word of God expounded by a Negro Baptist from the South, Dr. Samuel Proctor, was a rare and blessed diet of corporate worship. We could not but recall the lines of Wordsworth:

The holy time is quiet as a nun
Breathless with adoration.

This interracial, interdenominational, interfaith worship was climaxed at the last service as we affirmed our one, holy, Catholic faith in the words of the Apostles' Creed. The Duke Chapel was Bethel—none other but the house of God and the gate of heaven.

So here are the lectures to recall to your remembrance the hallowed occasion. It seemed wiser to give them to you now as a special edition of THE DUKE DIVINITY SCHOOL REVIEW than to wait a year for their printing by a publishing house. This issue is a souvenir of an astonishing event.

JAMES T. CLELAND
Chairman
The James A. Gray Lectures

I. The Council and the Liturgical Renewal

GODFREY L. DIEKMANN

Dear Brothers in Christ and in the Christian Ministry:

Before all else, I must express my humble gratitude to the several sponsoring bodies, to Duke University, to its School of Divinity, and to its Dean, Dr. Robert Cushman, whom I have learned during the second session of Vatican Council II not only to esteem as a scholar but to value as a friend, for the privilege of addressing you. Though deeply appreciative of the singular academic distinction associated with being selected as a James A. Gray lecturer, I must also, in all honesty, confess that, as a Catholic priest who thanks God each day for good Pope John XXIII and the new era of ecumenical involvement which he opened up for us of the Roman Catholic faith, I accepted Dean Cushman's invitation with eagerness, because of the opportunity it offers of contributing in whatever small degree to the furtherance of the Christian dialogue. My eagerness, however, was tempered with salutary trepidation. In terms of true theological dialogue with my brethren of other Christian Churches, I am, as it were, an infant learning to speak or, rather, like one advanced in years painfully learning a foreign tongue and not quite certain that he uses it rightly. If, therefore, in the course of my lectures, anything I say may wound sensibilities or prove in any way unwittingly offensive, I hereby unreservedly apologize in advance.

As to my general approach to the topics assigned me: In the past two years I have lectured to many and often quite large audiences of Catholic priests in various parts of the country about Vatican Council II. I decided, therefore, rightly or wrongly—you will have to be the judges—to speak to *you* as if I were addressing *them*: i.e., to express, as honestly and forthrightly as I possibly can, my views of the significance of what is happening at the Council. You are therefore, for the time being, in a role similar to that of the Protestant observers at the Council: sympathetic witnesses to the wrestling with the angel of the Lord that your Catholic brethren are presently engaged in.

When the Liturgical Commission preparing for Vatican Council

It had concluded its work of drafting the document which, substantially, is identical with the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy officially promulgated December 4, 1963, the Jesuit Fr. Josef Jungmann, perhaps our most famous liturgy scholar, declared: "If the Council accepts this statement, I shall be happy to sing my *Nunc Dimittis*—Now Thou dost dismiss Thy servant, O Lord, in peace." For at that time there was no conceivable way of foretelling the climate of the Council. As a matter of fact, the weather signs were rather stormy. Yet after a lengthy discussion on the Council floor that lasted the better part of the entire Session I in 1962, the changes that were introduced into the document were all "liberalizing" rather than restrictive. The final vote was Yes 2147, and No 4. (Incidentally, it became a popular guessing game in Rome to discover the identity of the four. I think I know at least two.)

That vote constituted the official stamp of approval on the so-called Liturgical Movement or Renewal in the Catholic Church. It is obviously impossible, in the framework of this lecture, to detail the adventurous history of this movement. Many of you, doubtless, are at least in a general manner aware of its early scholarly and monastic origins, associated largely with the restoration of Gregorian Chant, the Abbey of Solesmes in France, and the person of Abbot Guéranger, in the second half of the nineteenth century. The pastoral dimension of the movement began to come to the fore through a famous speech of Dom Lambert Beauduin at the Belgian National Catholic Congress in 1909. At that time, however, liturgy was still so universally regarded as mere ritual, ceremonious embroidery of the sacramental actions, in other words, as romantic aestheticism of no intrinsic significance and really quite irrelevant to the essentials of Christian life and spirituality, that Dom Beauduin's speech was assigned to the Congress's section on "Art and Archeology." And it must further be admitted that, despite the substantial progress of the pastoral impact of the liturgical renewal, especially in Austria and Germany in the '20's, in the U.S. beginning with 1926, the year the liturgical magazine *Orate Fratres* was launched, and in France more particularly since World War II, an unprejudiced observer of the scene at the outset of Vatican Council II from the evidence at hand would have had to conclude that, in the minds of most Catholics, including many members of the hierarchy, liturgy was still classified in the category of "Art and Archeology."

But, God be thanked, appearances were deceiving. Or perhaps the New Pentecost prayed for by Pope John in convoking the Council was already commencing, and the fresh air was beginning to circulate

through the newly opened windows. In any event, the Schema on the Liturgy, though originally slated as seventh on the list of the Council's agenda, was moved up to first place for discussion, precisely because, as the result of the grass-roots development and maturing of the liturgical movement of the previous fifty years, the Schema embodied most satisfactorily that *pastoral* and *biblical* approach and emphasis which the Council had set as its goal.

And thus it happened, by accident if you will, that, after a lengthy and often heated discussion of the proposed Liturgy Schema, the Council on December 4, 1963, promulgated the approved Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy as the first major plank in its over-all program of the Church's self-reform and spiritual renewal. But already it is becoming evident that this Constitution is immeasurably more than a first plank: it is nothing less than the documentary foundation of the Catholic Church's program of spiritual rejuvenation, anticipating many of the concerns of subsequent Schemata—and doing so in proper and best context: for it views the Church, not primarily as an institution, but as the *Ecclesia*, the people of God, the body of Christ as a worshipping community. Some of the Protestant observers at the Council, indeed, have expressed the judgment that even if the Council does nothing else, the promulgation of the Liturgy Constitution would suffice to rank it among the major events in the history of the Roman Church, and perhaps of Christianity. And if I may be permitted to append a personal footnote: I am convinced that, after the inspired word of Holy Scripture, there has appeared no writing of an official public character in the entire history of the Catholic Church which is the peer of this document in containing the *potentialities* of spiritual revitalization. It is the Magna Carta of the Catholic Church's hoped-for second spring. And it is such because, above all else, it represents a deliberate return to the sources, to the fresh waters of the saving paschal mystery of Christ, His death and resurrection.

Any attempt on my part even to summarize the contents of the Constitution would necessarily be superficial. I dare to suggest, therefore, that for its ecumenical import, if for no other reason, you somehow find the time to study this document if you have not yet done so. For therein you will find what the Catholic Church has freshly realized to be her intimate nature, what therefore she ought to be, what she consciously and prayerfully hopes to be in the years ahead more faithfully than in the past: "a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, God's own people, to declare His wonderful deeds" (1 Peter 2:9).

No doubt future historians will evaluate the Liturgy Constitution more objectively than it is now possible for us to do. But I would like to treat today, in some depth, of one of its features which both for us Catholics and for its ecumenical connotations may well prove to be of capital and lasting significance.

A chief concern of the Council itself, mirrored clearly in, and in fact sparked by, the Liturgy Constitution, is the effort to *personalize* religion, i.e., to make our Christian life more of a personal, responsible experience, a personal encounter with God and our neighbor that takes place above all, according to the will of Christ, within the *community* of the Church. This, as is evident, is the Christian counterpart of the contemporary passionate—and almost desperate—search for the true meaning of love, or self-commitment, to another person or persons, based on an ever deeper insight into the dignity and worth of the individual and his necessary responsible relations to the community.

Now the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy embodies this needed emphasis on the personal dimension of religion, as exercised in the Christian community through the mystery of the sacraments, and most especially the Eucharist. Let me illustrate under two headings.

1). The liturgy, since it is our encounter with Christ, demands *personal involvement*. The liturgy, and above all the Eucharist, is in the first place the highpriestly action of Christ. It is the mystery of His saving acts, of His death and resurrection, activated or brought somehow into the present in order that we might share in them and thus be saved. The Eucharist is the renewal of the Covenant (“This is the Covenant in My Blood”), a covenant between God and His *people*, between God and each member of His holy priestly people through time. Hence, participation in the Eucharist must again become for each Christian person subjectively, personally, that which it is objectively in the plan of God—the fount of all holiness. Hence, too, the Council’s concern about simplifying and clarifying the rite of the Eucharist (also of the other sacraments), that they again become easily and generally intelligible, “that they express more clearly the holy things which they signify” (Art. 21). The Church is not an aristocracy, so that her rites are for the edification and (let me frankly say it) for the aesthetic enjoyment of a select few, of an *élite*. The Church is the *populus Dei*, the holy people of God, and it is precisely her great dignity and honor—and obligation—that she is above all the Church of the poor, also of the illiterate, of people from factories and farms, shops and kitchens. She is the Church of the *anawim*,

of God's little ones. All these too must feel at home in the Church, must personally be moved, in faith and love—by that which they see and hear and do. Hence, since participation in the Lord's Supper, in the mystery of His saving death and resurrection, is the Christian's highest privilege, his most *Christian act*, such participation must, by that very fact, be his highest and most personally conscious and deliberate exercise of faith, of hope, and of charity.

Of faith. Every Sunday, when the Christian community meets to celebrate the Eucharist, there is first of all a synaxis, a Scripture service wherein Christ speaks to His flock, to stir up and enlighten their faith. The Creed is next prayed, wherein they renew their baptismal faith and commitment to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. But it is above all in the Eucharistic service itself that their faith finds its deepening, its renewal, its fullest expression. The Preface and great Eucharistic Prayer (the anaphora) is addressed to the Father, through the Son, in the Holy Spirit. It is the most solemn, the most didactically and spiritually formative announcement of the saving acts of God's history: "As often as you do this, you *proclaim* the death of the Lord, until He comes"; and to this proclamation, the people answer with the scriptural word of faith, of personal Yes, in their concluding great Amen.

Of hope. Ever since biblical and early Christian times, the celebration itself of the Lord's Supper has been the greatest and most important act or expression of hope on the part of the Church and of every one of its members. "As often as you do this, you proclaim the death of the Lord, *until He comes!*" The Eucharist is the embodiment of our eschatological faith. The earthly liturgy is our sharing in the heavenly liturgy which the author of Revelation describes, and whose vision was granted him "on the Lord's day"—the day of the early Christian Eucharistic assembly. Hence, we dare to join with the heavenly host, singing Holy, Holy, Holy. In no other Christian action do we take part so expressly and consciously as God's holy people, as members of His heavenly family; no other occasion is of its nature so calculated to remind us that we are pilgrims, sojourners on earth, whose true citizenship (and worship) is in heaven. (For that reason, too, a technical term to describe the early Christian community, especially when assembled in Sunday Eucharistic worship, was "*paroikia*"—an assembly of pilgrims.) And the food which our divine Leader gives us is heavenly food, not only in the Old Testament "manna" sense that it comes from Heaven's bounty, but because it is our Viaticum, the food of our earthly pilgrimage to Heaven. Hence, every Lord's Supper is an eloquent *Sursum corda*

—“Up with your hearts.” And it was quite in order that Paul, in his Eucharistic First Epistle to the Corinthians, should conclude his message with “*Maranatha*—come Lord”; and that that same word is found in the earliest non-scriptural description of the Eucharist, in the *Didache*, or the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles. Most importantly, the Eucharist is not merely the expression of our hope postponed into the future. It is, in God’s mercy, hope already realized, for He Who is to come in glory already now becomes present in the Eucharistic assembly, in gracious anticipation of that future day.

Of charity. And finally, the Eucharist or the Lord’s Supper is our greatest personal and communal act of charity. I will not elaborate this point here, but will speak of it somewhat more at length in my next lecture. The purpose of the Lord’s Supper, its role in the Church, is to unite us in Christ and *with each other*, in a charity that embraces *all* our brethren in Christ, whether slave or free, whether Jew or Greek, whether black or white, whether Catholic or Protestant or Moslem or Buddhist or Animist or Atheist. The Bread we receive is Christ’s body broken for the many! And we eat it and drink Christ’s blood unworthily, unto our *judgment*, unless we open our hearts thereby and in their strength, not just to a warm over-all glow of good will, but open our hearts to bleed for Medgar Evers—and for those who killed him. The Table of the Eucharist is our Christian declaration to the world of our duty of social justice and charity.

2). The liturgy demands personal utmost involvement because it is our encounter *with Christ*. This is, beyond doubt, the most important message of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy. Already Pius XII, in *Mediator Dei* (his encyclical on the liturgy, published in 1947), in what was the heart of that document, declared that, “Along with the Church, her divine Founder is present at every liturgical function. . . . He is present in the sacraments, infusing into them the power which makes them ready instruments of sanctification” (N. 20). “Christ acts each day to save us, in the sacraments and in his holy sacrifice” (N. 29). (One hears here the echo of Saint Augustine: “It is not Peter who baptizes, it is not Paul who baptizes, it is Christ who baptizes.”) For us Catholics this truth, which now seems so obvious and traditional, was partially (and perhaps largely) obscured by our insistence on what we called the *Real Presence*, i.e., the presence of Christ in the consecrated species of bread and wine. For if we call that presence “real,” we perhaps inevitably convey the impression that other modes of presence are somehow unreal, or merely figurative. Certain it is that Pius XII’s clear state-

ment already caused a significant re-orientation of thinking among those who were willing to listen. The Liturgy Constitution not only reiterates but expands the earlier encyclical in at least two important points.

In Article 7, the document states: "To accomplish so great a task (i.e., to celebrate the paschal mystery . . . whereby the victory and triumph of His death are again made present) Christ is always present in His Church, especially in her liturgical celebrations. He is present in the Sacrifice of the Mass, not only in the person of His minister, 'the same now offering, through the ministry of priests, who formerly offered Himself on the cross,' but especially under the Eucharistic species. By His power He is present in the sacraments, so that when a man baptizes it is really Christ himself who baptizes. He is present in *His Word*, since it is He Himself who speaks when the Holy Scriptures are read in the Church. He is present, lastly, *when the Church prays and sings*, for He promised: 'Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there I am in the midst of them' (Matt. 18:20)."

Please note, first of all, the climactic emphasis on the presence of Christ in the local assembly. The Church is *Ecclesia* not only in its universal extension; but Christ is present as head to His Body when the local community, the parish, gathers for worship. This is obviously of cardinal significance to our understanding of the nature of the Church, and I will therefore speak of it in greater detail in a subsequent lecture, which deals with that topic.

But in addition to this clarification of Christ's presence in the local *Ecclesia*, Article 7 of the Constitution breaks new ground for us Catholics, so far as authoritative teaching of recent centuries is concerned, by stating that "Christ is present in *His Word*, since it is He Himself who speaks when the Holy Scriptures are read in the Church." And since this presence in His proclaimed Word is enumerated together with His very real presence in the action of the sacraments, in the Eucharist, and in the local worshipping assembly, this presence, too, cannot be called merely figurative, but is as real as in those other instances. Christianity is Christ, living and acting in His body, the Church, and He lives and acts supremely, as Priest, but also as King (lawgiver) and Prophet (teaching us by His Word), in the liturgy. And in the liturgy, above all other occasions, we act with Him, we share in his priestly, kingly, and prophetic role, we re-enact His saving actions in sign, we become sons of the resurrection.

We share in them, however, *only* to the extent to which we open

ourselves to Him, respond to Him, by faith. When Jesus worked His miracles in Palestine, He demanded as a condition faith in Himself; and the Gospel even records, in bold words, that He could not work miracles in His native Nazareth because of that people's lack of faith. One of the all too facile generalizations concerning the division of Protestants and Catholics is to claim that Protestants hold man to be saved by faith, whereas Catholics speak of being saved by the sacraments. As if "Word" and "Sacrament" were not only rivals to each other, but mutually exclusive! We Catholics also believe that man is saved by faith, for we too claim to be Christians, and the witness of sacred Scripture on this point brooks no gainsaying. I am reminded of a dialogue—incidentally, the first of its kind in the U.S.—held at Saint John's Abbey in 1960 between five Protestant and five Catholic theologians. I am sure we startled our Protestant friends on that occasion when we stated that we Catholics also believe that we are saved *sola fide*. Of course, we hastened to explain that the "sola fides" includes the sacraments, and would be incomplete without them, because the sacraments of their nature, and according to Catholic tradition, are the *signs of faith* willed by Christ: "Unless you believe *and* are baptized. . . ."

But we also had to admit that this understanding of the sacraments, as *signs of faith*, had not been to the forefront of average Catholic thinking, because of the polemical stress since Reformation times on sacraments as causes of grace. We have emphasized, for apologetic reasons, that sacraments cause grace *ex opere operato*. And perhaps I will now startle some of you if I express a hearty hope, as a Catholic theologian, that at least a temporary moratorium be placed on the use of the phrase *ex opere operato*. I do believe in the *ex opere operato* causality of sacraments. But the all too common *impression* given by the phrase, of sacraments automatically conferring grace, is not only a distortion of our beliefs, but a denial of the Christian belief that only Christ can confer grace—nor can anyone, anywhere, at any time, compel Him to do so, no matter what sacred words are spoken or action performed. As a matter of fact, we have not even ever been able to find a really satisfactory translation of the phrase. What it means historically is clear: sacraments are not things, they are *actions* of Christ, saving actions by which, according to His own willing, He unites us to Himself *to the extent* to which we have faith, to the extent to which we say Yes to Him. I believe that by means of the visible sign which we call sacrament I encounter Christ just as truly as did His contemporaries in Palestine 2,000 years ago. But, as in that encounter, my spiritual eyes will not be

opened, my lame feet will not be healed, unless I meet Christ in faith, unless, that is, the sacramental sign is truly expressive for me of my self-surrender to my Lord. *Ex opere operato* does not mean that sacraments have saving power *in themselves*, as containers. It means: Christ works through this sign which He himself has instituted. *Ex opere operato* (literally "by the action performed") means in context: *ex actione Christi* ("by the action of Christ"). It is significant to recall that Saint Thomas Aquinas, although he had used the phrase *ex opere operato* in earlier works, did not employ it in his great mature theological work, the *Summa Theologica*. Instead, he spoke of *ex actione Christi*, or *ex virtute Christi* ("by the power of Christ"). If that is what the phrase really means, and it is, then I think there will be general gain if we say so. The Protestant Reformation, insofar as it was an emphasis on faith, was a justified reaction to a prevalent all-too-mechanistic presentation of the sacraments, in practice if not in principle. One is even led to wonder whether, if in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Saint Thomas' example had been followed, and sacraments had been effectively and generally taught to be the saving acts of Christ in the present, and therefore our personal encounter with Him through faith, whether, I say, the Protestant Reformation would have happened, or happened as it did, as the tragic division of Christendom. True, the Council of Trent did define that faith is the root and foundation of all sanctification. But by then it was too late to heal the breach, to undo the damage which the false image of the mechanistic causality of sacraments had projected. And so, for four centuries, in the popular mind Protestant *sola fides* has stood in opposition to Catholic sacramental causality.

Here is what the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy says, in Article 59, introducing the chapter on the sacraments: "Because sacraments are signs, they also instruct. They not only presuppose faith, but by words and objects they also nourish, strengthen and express faith; that is why they are called 'sacraments (i.e., signs) of faith.' They do impart grace, but, in addition, the very act of celebrating them most effectively disposes the faithful to receive this grace in a fruitful manner, to worship God duly, and to practice charity." (Not a word, you will notice, of the customary *ex opere operato*—which is at least a temporary moratorium.)

The Article continues by drawing a conclusion from this faith-dimension of sacraments: "It is *therefore* of the highest importance that the faithful should easily understand the sacramental signs." Hence the thorough reform of all sacramental rites ordered by the

Council, for, as Article 62 declares: "With the passage of time, there have crept into the rites . . . certain features which have rendered their nature and purpose far from clear to the people of today; therefore some changes have become necessary to adapt them to the needs of our times." And that is the task of the Post-Conciliar Liturgical Commission, entrusted with the thorough-going reform of the rites of Mass, of all the other sacraments and of all liturgical rites, now in full progress. This Commission consists of some forty Bishops from throughout the world, chosen especially because of their proven interest in pastoral-liturgical renewal (its American members are Cardinal Archbishop Ritter of St. Louis and Archbishop Hallinan of Atlanta), and some one hundred and twenty consultors, with another two hundred advisors, including nearly every Catholic liturgical scholar of note from every nation, divided into forty-two sub-commissions, many of whose members are working full-time on their respective projects. This thorough reform of the Catholic liturgy, the first such systematic and planned reform in the history of the Church, may take anywhere from four to six or seven years. I sincerely believe that, as a result of its efforts, we may look forward optimistically to the Eucharist becoming a far more meaningful experience, deepening our faith, hope and love.

In all events, it is evident that the liturgical reforms are taking place primarily in the interest of faith—to make the sacraments, which by definition are *signs of faith*, fully and surely such: i.e., expressions of the faith of the *Church*, that Christ through these signs is presently continuing His highpriestly work of salvation; and signs deepening and renewing the *personal faith* of the Christian in this, his personal encounter with his Savior.

This, too, the word or faith-dimension of sacraments, underlies the strikingly drastic increase in the use of sacred Scripture ordered by the Constitution, and its insistence on frequent homilies. For faith comes through hearing.

Herewith some pertinent quotations: "Sacred Scripture is of the greatest importance in the celebration of the liturgy. For it is from Scripture that lessons are read and explained in the homily, and psalms are sung; the prayers, collects and liturgical songs are scriptural in their inspiration, and it is from the Scriptures that actions and signs derive their meaning. Thus to achieve the restoration, progress and adaptation of the Sacred Liturgy, it is essential to promote that warm and living love for Scripture to which the venerable traditions of both Eastern and Western rites give testimony" (Art. 24).

“In sacred celebrations there is to be more reading from Holy Scripture, and it is to be more varied and suitable” (Art. 35). In fact (it is already taken for granted) in the Mass of the future, instead of a one-year cycle of Scripture readings as at present, with always the same Epistle and Gospel on a respective Sunday, there will be a several-year cycle of readings, with probably an additional reading from the Old Testament for every Sunday and major feast. But not only will there be an increase of Scripture readings in Mass. The Constitution says: “In sacred celebrations”—hence, very likely a Scripture reading or readings will be a normal part in the administration of the other sacraments as well.

Article 35 continues: “The sermon is part of the liturgical service.” No longer, therefore, is the sermon merely an optional, or an *ad libitum* annex—as which it has perhaps too frequently been considered up to now, with a consequent minimizing and even neglect of its critical importance. “The sermon, moreover, should draw its content mainly from scriptural and liturgical sources, and its character should be that of the proclamation of God’s wonderful works in the history of salvation, the mystery of Christ, ever made present and active within us, especially in the celebration of the liturgy.” “Bible services should be encouraged, especially on the vigils of the more solemn feasts, on some weekdays in Advent and Lent, and on Sundays and on feastdays.” This will mean in the concrete, that such Bible services will very probably take the place of the customary evening devotions, which now often consist for the most part of the recitation of the rosary and a few hymns, followed by Benediction.

In a word, a considerable increase of sacred Scripture is demanded, outside as well as within the official liturgy. This would seem a tacit admission of previous relative neglect in practice. It is, indeed, a bitter pill for us Catholics to swallow, to admit that we have indeed given less than its due role to sacred Scripture. When speaking of this matter to Catholic audiences, I sometimes present them with a test case. If, while traveling on a bus, a train, or plane, we see someone absorbed in the study of the New Testament, with perhaps pencil in hand, making annotations in the margin, what are the odds of his being a Catholic or Protestant? I believe the odds are such that it would be unethical to make a bet!

Because of the centrality of the Eucharist, and its formative role in the life of the Christian community, it is above all in the Sunday Eucharist that homily and sacred Scripture are, according to the Constitution, to be given new and more urgent prominence. “The homily is to be highly esteemed to be part of the liturgy itself” (Art.

52)—this is the second time that this is inculcated in this same document. “In fact, at those Masses which are celebrated with the assistance of the people on Sundays and feasts of obligation, the homily may not be omitted, except for a serious reason” (Art. 52). In sum: “The treasures of the Bible are to be opened up more lavishly, so that richer fare may be provided for the faithful at the *table of God’s word*” (Art. 51). Here the Constitution even introduces a change of traditional terminology. We have been accustomed to speak of the Mass of the Catechumens and the Mass of the Faithful. The Constitution speaks of the Service of the Word and the Eucharistic Service, of the “table of God’s word,” corresponding to the table of God’s bread: for “Not from bread alone does man live (not even from the bread of Christ’s sacred body), but from every word that proceeds from the mouth of God.”

The ecumenical import of this greater role to be assigned to sacred Scripture in the reformed Catholic liturgy hardly requires underscoring. Moreover, in a number of Churches—Anglican, Presbyterian, Lutheran among others—there has become operative a similar desire to “provide a richer fare for the faithful at the table of God’s word,” resulting in new, and sometimes as yet experimental, lectionaries in a two- or three-year cycle. Already in some parts of the English-speaking world, too, the dream of a common Bible has been realized: in England and Scotland, e.g., the Catholic Bishops have permitted the general use of the Revised Standard Version. Thus, even though we cannot as yet give expression to our common desire for Christian unity by eating at the same table of Christ’s body, Divine Providence would seem to be drawing us together in fraternal understanding and charity, by this our greater common partaking of the selfsame bread of His living and life-giving word. For this His merciful gift, we humbly thank Him, and pray to be faithful to His will.

II. The Nature of the Church and Its Government

GODFREY L. DIEKMANN

The Schema "De Ecclesia" (On the Church), as originally drawn up and presented to the second session in the fall of 1963, proved a severe disappointment.* During the five weeks it was discussed on the Council floor, from September 23 to October 31, hardly a kind voice was heard in its defense, except from those who had had part in its drafting, or by the predictable defenders of the status quo.

Archbishop Martin of Rouen in France, speaking in the name of the French hierarchy, summarized the general discontent as follows: Its chief fault (he said) was that, though it professed to deal *ex professo* with the nature of the Church, it presented, despite its protestations to the contrary, a view of the Church that is still primarily institutional, and therefore at variance with the ecclesiology that is embodied in the Schema "On the Liturgy," which has already been adopted and approved by the Council. In other words, the proposed Schema "De Ecclesia" gives priority to the government of the Church, rather than to the intrinsic nature of the Church as a worshipping community, centering its life in the Eucharist or Lord's Supper—of which more basic question government, albeit essential, is only supplementary and consequential.

This intervention of Archbishop Martin seemed to express the mind of the great majority present. It received confirmation in the talk of Cardinal Suenens of Malines, Belgium, which was probably the turning-point (as, to my thinking, it was certainly the climax) of the second session. The talk is reprinted in the paperback volume, *Council Speeches of Vatican II*, edited by Fathers Küng, O'Hanlon, and Congar, published recently by the Paulist Press. Significantly, Cardinal Suenens' talk is given pride of place in this collection. The Cardinal spoke of the charismatic nature of the Church. The general tenor of his crucial intervention may perhaps be sensed from the following citations:

"The Holy Spirit is the first-fruits (Romans 8:23), the first

* Since this paper was given, the Constitution on the Church has been revised, promulgated and published.—G.L.D.

installment of the Church (2 Cor. 1:22; 5:5) in this world. Therefore the Church is called the dwelling of God in the Spirit (Eph. 2:22). It follows from this that the Holy Spirit is not given to pastors only, but to each and every Christian. 'Do you not know that you are the temple of God, and that the Holy Spirit dwells in you?' says St. Paul to the Corinthians (1 Cor. 3:16). In baptism, the sacrament of faith, all Christians receive the Holy Spirit. All Christians, 'living stones' as they are called, are to be built into a 'spiritual dwelling'—*oikos pneumatikos* (2 Pet. 2:5). Therefore the whole Church is essentially a truly 'pneumatic' or spiritual reality, built on the foundation not only of the Apostles, but, as Eph. 2:20 says, also of prophets. . . . Each and every Christian, whether lettered or unlettered, has his charism in his daily life, but—as St. Paul says—'All of these must aim at one thing: to build up the church' (1 Cor. 14:26; cf. 14:3-5)."

This charismatic, pneumatic or spiritual nature of the Church is its first characteristic. The Church is the body of Christ, in which the Holy Spirit dwells and is active and informs *all* its members. Ontologically, the Church is the spiritual body of Christ before it is an hierarchical body. The distinction between hierarchy (pope, bishops, priests, deacons) and the laity, though essential to the nature of the Church because so willed equally and simultaneously by Christ, is derivative and complementary to the nature of the Church as the people of God, the body of Christ, in which the Spirit dwells, enabling it to worship in spirit and truth, and to bring the spirit of worship to bear upon the world for its transformation.

Parenthetically, it might be added that this is perhaps the first time since the Reformation of the 16th century, that it has been so clearly and publicly stated that the Protestant reformers had a true insight into the nature of the Church as a spiritual body. Though, as Catholics, we would immediately add that this true insight was tragically marred by their rejection of the hierarchical dimension, against which it was a reaction. And the tragedy was compounded by our Catholic failure, in the heat of controversy, to recognize and admit the rightness of the insight. Instead, we insisted more vigorously than before on the institutional and hierarchical at the *practical* expense of the prophetic.

In any event, as a result of this discussion in the second session, an all-important change in the Schema "De Ecclesia" was decided upon. The original draft, after treating of Christ, founder and head of the Church, passed next to a consideration of the hierarchy, and thirdly, to the laity. The Theological Commission responsible for the

wording of the text was instructed by the Council to revise the Schema so that, after a first chapter on Christ, the next chapter will deal with the entire *populus Dei*, the people of God, the body of Christ, embracing *both* hierarchy and laity, and then, in the third instance only, there will be the *articulation* of this people of God into successive treatments of hierarchy and laity.

This thoroughly revised Schema was presented to the third session of the Council as the first matter on its agenda when it met a month ago, in mid-September. It is, to all effects and purposes, an almost completely new document, a superb biblical and pastoral portrayal of the *Mystery of the Church*. Though discussion of it lasted a month, one could sense the general satisfaction with it on the part of the great majority of the Council Fathers, and it is confidently expected that after some of the final corrections and improvements will have been embodied, it will be officially promulgated at the close of this session, to take its place, with the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, as one of the most historically significant declarations of the Catholic Church, and as a documentary foundation for her earnest purpose of self-reformation and renewal. Archbishop Martin's criticism has been successfully met, and the ecclesiology implicit in the Liturgy Constitution here finds its complementation and more expansive development. In view of the fact that the document "De Ecclesia" is not yet available, I will attempt, for the present, to indicate several of the salient features most relevant to the mystery of the Church as they have already found expression in the Liturgy Constitution, and which are presupposed and will find more ample and intense consideration in the new document "De Ecclesia."

The Church is, before all else, *a Mystery*, the holy people of God, united and ordered under their Bishops (this is the famous quotation from Saint Cyprian) for the primary purpose of worshipping God. "The pre-eminent manifestation (epiphany) of the Church consists in the full, active participation of all God's holy people in the liturgical celebrations, especially in the same Eucharist, in a single prayer, at one altar at which there presides the Bishop surrounded by his college of priests, and by his ministers" (Art. 41, quoting Saint Ignatius of Antioch). Or again, in Art. 2, "The liturgy through which the work of our redemption is accomplished, most of all in the divine sacrifice of the Eucharist, is the outstanding means by which the faithful may express in their lives, and manifest to others, the mystery of Christ and the real nature of the true Church." "It is the liturgy (and, in context, this means the Eucharist) which builds up those who are within into a holy temple of the Lord, into a dwelling place for

God in the Spirit to the mature measure of the fulness of Christ." Even more decisively it is stated in Articles 9 and 10 that teaching and ruling (or government) are functions *subsidiary* to worship: "From the liturgy, therefore, and especially from the Eucharist, as from a fount, grace is poured forth upon us; and the sanctification of men in Christ and the glorification of God, to which *all other activities* are directed as toward their end, is achieved in the most efficacious way."

Though the document does not use the term, it is clear that it regards the Eucharist as the *Ur-Sakrament* (primal sacrament). Christ is *the* Ur-Sakrament; the Church, the visible sign of Christ through time is the Ur-Sakrament (the "sacrament of unity" it is called in Art. 26.); and the Eucharist is the Ur-Sakrament, the sign which is *the* epiphany of the Church and of Christ to the faithful and to the world, the sign which proclaims the death of the Lord. Even baptism is not an end in itself: rather it is a sacrament of initiation, with a eucharistic finality: "so that all who are made sons of God by faith and baptism should come together to praise God in the midst of His Church, to take part in the sacrifice, and to eat the Lord's Supper" (Art. 10). We become sons of God, *in order* that we may, as members of His family, worship Him properly, and by that very fact become duly functioning family members. The purpose of the Eucharist is the up-building of the body of Christ. The Eucharist constitutes, forms, yes, "creates" the people of God: "This is the covenant in my blood. . . ."

This formative power and purpose of the Eucharistic bread was already foreshadowed in its type in the Old Testament, the manna, whereby God more closely welded together "His people." It is unmistakably clear in 1 Cor. 10:17: "Because there is one loaf, we who are many are one body, for we all partake of the same loaf." The purpose of the letter, we recall, was to heal the schism in the contentious Corinthian Church. Paul says further: "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not communion (*koinonia*, fellowship) in the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not communion (*koinonia*, fellowship) in the body of Christ?" (1 Cor. 10:16). This topic sentence is then developed in the subsequent chapters. In chapter 11, we have an account of the institution of the Eucharist, the sacrament or sign of unity. In Chapter 12 is described the variety of gifts, all deriving from the same Spirit, all contributing to the one body: in other words, the *doctrine* of unity. And in Chapter 13, the canticle of fraternal charity, the ethical or *moral* realization of unity is portrayed. The sacrament of unity, the doctrine of unity,

and the morals of unity—and these three are one. That this juxtaposition is more than a happy accident becomes evident from the Gospel accounts of the Institution.

The Last Supper was an intimate family paschal meal, or, at the very least, it took place in the setting of a meal with paschal connotations. Its significance as a sign of unity and charity is strengthened by the account of the washing of feet. There follows, in John's Gospel, the *doctrine* of unity: the parable of the vine and branches, together with the highpriestly prayer, "That they may be one, as thou Father in me and I in Thee. . . ." And thirdly, as in Saint Paul's account, there is presented the *moral* dimension of unity by means of the Last Discourse's stress on fraternal charity: "By this shall all men know that you are my disciples, that you have love one for another. . . ." This interpretation is not weakened if, as some Scripture scholars maintain, not all the words of this discourse were *de facto* spoken on this occasion. The evangelist, with sure instinct (the instinct of the Holy Spirit), placed them in this context, where they would be most appropriate.

This role of the Eucharist, or Lord's Supper, as formative of the Christian community, was also well understood in the early Church. Thus, for instance, Clement of Rome, writing to the Corinthians at the turn of the first century, and faced with the same situation in the Corinthian Church to which Paul addressed himself, gave the same answer as Paul—and in the same order. He first describes the celebration of the Eucharist in Chapters 40 and 41: "Let each one of you, brethren, join in the Eucharist according to his rank. . . ." Then, in Chapter 46, he treats of the mystical body, of the need of unity, and the criminal nature of disunity: "Why do we divide and tear asunder the members of Christ, and raise up strife against our own body, and reach such a pitch of madness as to forget that we are members one of another?" And finally, in Chapter 50, he voices his great hymn on charity, almost in the same words as Paul.

The identical lesson can be drawn from the *Didache*, the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, in which we have the earliest description of the Eucharist in Christian non-scriptural writing. It is in this document that we have the first instance of the famous simile of the many grains of wheat making up the one bread, a simile which then became commonplace in subsequent writers and was especially beloved by Augustine: "As this broken bread was scattered upon the mountains, but was brought together and became one, so let thy Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into thy kingdom." Multiple further testimony from the Fathers could be adduced.

Particularly forceful is the witness of Saint John Chrysostom, representing the East, and Saint Augustine, representing the West. Centuries later, Saint Thomas Aquinas was only summarizing both Scripture and patristic teaching when he stated: "*Res huius sacramenti est unitas mystici Corporis*—the purpose, the effect, the grace of this sacrament is the unity of the Mystical Body." The Eucharist is the sacrament, the sign that signifies and brings about the Church's unity.

I think, in fact, that a good case could be made for the thesis that both Scripture and patristic writing almost take for granted, and therefore lay less stress on, the Eucharist uniting us to God (let us call this the *vertical* line), but insist more frequently and more urgently on the Lord's Supper uniting us to each other in Christ as His family of brethren (let us call this the *horizontal* line). The *Ecclesia* celebrates the Eucharist, partakes of the Lord's Supper, in order to *become* more fully and truly the *Ecclesia*. Or, to paraphrase Saint Paul, we eat the Lord's body in order to become ever more really His mystical body. The food which the Lord prepares for us at His table is food with a specific purpose: "That he might gather into one the children of God who were scattered abroad" (John 11:52). The Eucharist is the self-realization of the Church, her epiphany to the world.

I believe that two important consequences follow:

1). That in a very profound sense, *Ecclesia* and *Eucharistia* are co-terminous and co-extensive. The *Ecclesia* is never so much *ecclesia* as when it gathers to celebrate the Lord's Supper. "And they devoted themselves to the Apostles' teaching and fellowship (*koinonia*), to the breaking of bread, and the prayers" (Acts 2:42). From the very first generation after Christ the Sunday meeting of the Christians was normally a Eucharistic synaxis and meal, and thereby they were, in the power of the Spirit and in the strength of this bread, moulded into a strong body of Christ; they became more consciously and deliberately members of each other, because more fully members of Christ. Hence, it is not surprising to learn, as Père de Lubac points out in his historical study, *Corpus Mysticum*, that for approximately a thousand years the term mystical body signified the Eucharistic bread, and only then it came to be applied almost exclusively to the Church. That is, to repeat: *ecclesia* and *eucharistia* are in their deepest meaning co-extensive. This, too, I might recall, was a statement of principle derived from Scripture study proposed at the Faith and Order meeting in Lund, Sweden, in 1952; and I believe that it is precisely since that meeting that in many Protestant Churches there has

been a determined effort to observe the Lord's Supper more frequently, and even every Sunday.

2). A second conclusion is a lesson which we Catholics, certainly, must re-discover in its pastoral and moral consequences. If it is by Christ's Eucharistic body, above all, that we become more truly Christ's mystical body, then God's gift becomes our personal and communal obligation. Like the disciples at Emmaus, we too, in the breaking of bread, must discover Christ, the whole Christ, head and members. And yet, in a recent sociological study in what was regarded as a model Catholic parish, though well over 90% of the parishioners knew that the Mass is supposed to unite them to God (i.e., in what we earlier called the vertical line), only a minority or some 30% had any realistic living awareness of the horizontal—fraternal charity—dimension and purpose of the eucharistic bread. These are frightening statistics, no less so because they could probably be duplicated with an even more depressing result percentagewise in many of our parishes.

By Christ's will, we receive His body and blood into our hearts in order that thereby we may learn to open our minds and hearts to the many for whom He died—our brethren. Fraternal charity is the first and greatest commandment, and Christ gave us the Eucharist, the greatest sacrament, that we might with His strength observe this first and most difficult commandment. It was at the Last Supper that Jesus told us: "By this shall all men know that you are my disciples that you have love one for another." I am afraid that, in the practical order, for many Catholics the statement would, in all realistic honesty, have to be revised to read: "By this shall all men know that you are Catholics, that you don't eat meat on Friday." The only fair deduction from this state of things is that we teachers have taught poorly. We have not convinced our people that we profane the body and blood of Christ if we receive them and continue to practice discrimination, if we fail to be passionately concerned about better housing, fair employment, decent living on the part of all our brothers in Christ. The Eucharistic body of Christ builds up the community of Christians, the parish, but *parochialism* is a sin against Christ's body and blood. The Lord's Supper is a spiritual and social ferment, more, it is dynamite—and we have casually, if unwittingly, extinguished the fuse.

The Council, moreover, accepted and made its own the descriptive definition of the liturgy which Pope Pius XII, in his encyclical "On the Liturgy" in 1947, had declared to be "the worship rendered by the mystical body in the entirety of its head and members" (N. 20). It is "an action of Christ, the priest, and of His body, which is the

Church," and for this reason it is "a sacred action surpassing all others" (Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, Art. 7). That is to say, the Liturgy—and especially the Eucharist, which is the most important activity of the Church, revealing most clearly her inner essence—is not an action, in the first instance, of the ordained priest for the benefit of the laity, nor his professional activity in which the laity are allowed to participate to a certain limited extent. Rather, every act of the liturgy is the act of the whole Christ, of Christ the head and of His whole body. The biblical usage of applying the word priest (*hiereus*) to Christ and to the entire "chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a purchased people" (1 Pet. 2:9) is faithfully echoed. The whole people of God, clergy and laity, constitute "a spiritual house, a holy priesthood, to offer spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ" (1 Pet. 2:5). The Church is *Ecclesia*, the priestly people of God, "sealed with the promised Holy Spirit . . . to the praise of His glory" (Eph. 1:14).

Moreover, this *Ecclesia* becomes visible living reality most immediately in the local worshipping community, in what we in the course of time have come to call the parish. Therefore the Constitution, in the same Art. 7, basing itself on our Lord's words, states: "To accomplish so great a work (i.e., to reactivate the paschal mystery), Christ is always present in His Church, especially in her liturgical celebrations. . . . He is present when the Church prays and sings, for He promised, 'where two or three are gathered together in My name, there I am in the midst of them' (Matt. 18:20)."

Doubtless one of the most important ecclesiological features of the Constitution is its emphasis on the presence of Christ in the *local assembly*. The Church is *ecclesia* not only in its universal extension; Christ is present as head to His body when the local community, the parish, gathers for worship. This thought is repeated in Article 42, which treats specifically of the parish as realizing somehow (but truly) the concept of *ecclesia*. For the average Christian, it is his parish church and the Lord's Supper there participated in that constitute his immediate and experienced belonging to the Church, his encounter with Christ *in* the community. It is there that he must experience the brotherhood of his fellow members. It is there that his mind and heart must be opened, by his Eucharistic experience, to his brotherhood with every soul redeemed by Christ, including the Patagonian who has never even heard of Jesus.

For us Catholics this declaration of the Constitution is one of its most significant contributions. No doubt because our thinking about the Church has been so conditioned by the traditional institutional

emphasis, despite our awareness of its inadequacies and our efforts to overcome it, "Church" meant for us the Catholic universal Church, of which diocese and parish were geographical parts, administrative divisions. The *mystery* of the local *ecclesia* was all too much overlooked. The Constitution, therefore, without of course impugning the reality of the Church's universality or catholicity, focuses our attention, in biblical fashion and words, on the *mysterion* of the local worshipping community, constituting an *ecclesia* in which Christ dwells and, with His body, His holy people, is active in the things pertaining to the Father's glory: "Where two or three are gathered in my name. . . ."

And because of this newly recognized nature and role of the local community, the Constitution, anticipating in this an historically important change of ecclesiological polity which had not as yet even been brought up on the Council floor (namely, the idea of episcopal collegiality), grants to territorial groups of bishops certain powers of adapting the rites of the liturgy to suit local conditions—of which they, obviously, are the best judges. By way of parenthesis: this meant that the Council approved collegiality in pastoral practice before it had discussed it in theological principle. The import of this recognition of the significance of the local *ecclesia* is equally far-reaching; namely, that unity, and not uniformity, is one of the essential notes of the universal Church; that uniformity can in fact be stifling, life-killing; that, to quote a biblical phrase which was a Christian ideal for at least a thousand years, the Church is a bride "*circumdata varietate*—arrayed in garments of multiple hues." The monolithic Church, though it may be the dream of ecclesiastical bureaucrats, cannot be the ideal of a Catholic Church which claims to be the living body of Christ. Adaptation, while safeguarding essentials, is of the essence of a living organism; it is an absolute must for Pope John's hope of spiritual rejuvenation. Without it, the Church can never become relevant to the culture in which she lives; she defeats *a priori* her goal of *consecratio mundi*, the transformation of the world. Or, to apply Pope John's homely words, what is the purpose of opening windows if not that fresh air drive out, replace, the stale, so that persons occupying the room may accomplish better work?

A major conclusion of the foregoing is that the bishop is never so much a bishop, or the ordained priest so much a priest, as when, surrounded by his people and together with them, he *leads them* in the common worship. There is here no question of lessening his authority in the community; this authority, we Catholics hold, de-

rives not from the community, by delegation of the community, but from God. (It was chiefly to underscore this fact that the term "monarchical hierarchy" became customary.) The ordained minister is chosen from among men by the special call of God Himself, and is consecrated by the power of God to exercise his ministry with divinely delegated authority. But what the Council and the Liturgy Constitution stress, in a manner that will likely seem new to many Catholics and to the clergy themselves, but which in fact is nothing else than a biblical orientation, is the manner of *exercising* that authority. The priesthood of the ordained clergy is a *ministerial* priesthood, a priesthood of loving service, a priesthood whose chief purpose it is that the entire priestly people of God be enabled and assisted to carry out their chief task, that of Eucharistic worship. After all, it was on the occasion of the Last Supper that Christ Himself said: "I came not to be ministered unto, but to minister." And our liturgy of Good Friday has through the centuries sung, "*regnavit a ligno Deus*—God, i.e., Christ, reigned from the cross." As if to remind us, who are constantly beset by the primal temptation of lust for power, that our Lord, Who had all and full authority, exercised it in the highest climactic degree when as Highpriest He delivered Himself up for His people in love from the *throne* of His cross.

In sum, the Liturgy Constitution and the forthcoming document "De Ecclesia," while in no way detracting from the authoritative leadership of the ordained bishop or priest, who enacts a role that is necessary and unique and which we believe to be of Christ's institution, interpret that role in terms, first of all, of service and love. If authority does not root in charity, if it is not the palpable expression of charity, then that authority is monstrous and radically unchristian. Therefore in the liturgy, where that authority of the ordained priest finds its highest role, there is a constant *dialogue* between minister and people. In fact, as Saint John Chrysostom remarked, the celebrant by saying, "*Gratias agamus*—let us give thanks to the Lord our God," as it were asks permission from his people to advance into the great Eucharistic prayer, and the people give him leave to do so by responding, "*Dignum et iustum est*—it is meet and right."

"Dialogue" has become in recent years almost a threadbare word. And yet what other is there to express a communing in understanding and charity? There was such a dialogue between Jesus and His heavenly Father when Jesus surrendered Himself in obedience to the Father's supreme authority: "Not my will but thine be done." Only

by a similar dialogue, based on Christian faith and self-less love, can the vexed question of *authority* versus *freedom* in the Church be broached. It is undoubtedly true that, because of an institutional emphasis in interpreting the nature of the Church, we Catholics have for centuries stressed authority at the expense of freedom, at the expense of the Church's prophetic or charismatic nature. And I hope you will not accuse me of unecumenical bias when I add that Protestants seem not to have avoided the contrary emphasis on freedom to the neglect of the ministerial authority. Authority and freedom—the divinely delegated authority which in God's name is entitled to and must demand obedience and, on the other hand, the ineradicable and absolutely essential freedom of every son of God—the solution of this paradox constitutes for us Catholics today our most pressing problem and will entail the most far-reaching consequences in our polity and daily Christian life. And, if I am not mistaken, the problem of authority likewise constitutes the most divisive problem in Catholic-Protestant ecumenical relations. Others, such as Mariology, may be more psychologically and devotionally (and also emotionally) divisive. But the Catholic Church's claim for the authority of her hierarchy, particularly of bishops and above all of the Pope, seems to preclude any reasonable hope of ultimate mutual understanding. That rock which was Peter, and which we Catholics believe to be the living successor of Peter, on which Christ willed to build His Church, instead of being the rock assuring unity has tragically become the rock of scandal of disunity among us.

That is why, it seems to me, the re-thinking that is going on in the Council in regard to the purpose and role of authority in the Catholic Church, in less exclusively isolated clerical terms, but in the fuller context of the entire people of God, gifted with His freedom of sons, is of highest significance not only for us, but also for ecumenical hopes.

I suspect that many of you in this audience have become increasingly impatient with me during this lecture, wondering when I will get to the point about the government of the Church—to the relation between the supreme jurisdiction of the Pope and that of the collegiality of bishops, to the "obstructive machinations" of the Curia about which the Press has so often reported, etc. I had, indeed, first thought of speaking of these matters, for they obviously constitute a crucially significant part of the *aggiornamento* of the Church. These are the things that make news, that seem primary. Nor do I have any intention of minimizing their importance. However, to allay any suspicions that may lurk in your minds, I can

assure you that my failure to treat of them did not arise from cowardice on my part to grapple with thorny questions. Rather, unless I have completely misunderstood the significance of Vatican Council II, the determination of *who* exercises authority, however pertinent in practice, is, in view of the self-reform of the Catholic Church *and* her relations to other Christian Churches—which are the declared purposes of the Council—more or less irrelevant, or merely academic, *unless* the Christ-willed meaning of authority and the how of its exercise are clearly understood and accepted and realized in practice. The Church is a *mystery of love*, visibly expressed in an institution of service, not of domination.

In order to achieve this understanding, I, for one, venture to express the hope that a moratorium might be placed also on the phrase “monarchical hierarchy.” This adjective “monarchical,” borrowed from a secular frame of thought and polity, can at best be analogously meaningful when applied to a spiritual reality such as the Church. I am not, of course, denying that element of truth which the adjective, rightly understood, conveys. But this, it seems to me, is an obvious instance in which, to quote Pope John, though the essentials of truth remain ever the same, its mode of expression must sometimes undergo change in the interests of contemporary and changing intelligibility and connotations. Christ’s Church is, in the contemporary connotations of those words, neither monarchical nor democratic. In fact, of the two, monarchical, insofar as it evokes thoughts of autocratic, dictatorial abuse of clerical power, may be more misleading than the term democratic. The image (Oh, patient word!) that we have managed to project by our insistence on monarchical hierarchy is, in fact, a serious distortion of the biblical and Christian meaning of Christ-like and Christ-rooted authority. If the Council succeeds, in consequential prolongation and expansion of the new stress on the authority of ordained priests and bishops as a ministerial authority rooted in love, without sacrifice of a true and divinely delegated power that can and must be met with willing obedience, presupposing the dialogue of spiritual father and sons (such as the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy already embodies and the document “De Ecclesia” will further declare), perhaps the two terms of the paradox, authority and freedom, will be more clearly seen, not as contradictory and mutually exclusive but as complementary and mutually enriching. That such may indeed occur, I humbly ask your charitable and fraternal prayers.

III. The Apostolate of the Laity

GODFREY L. DIEKMANN

Several widely read commentators have pin-pointed the significance of Vatican Council II as the *Roman Catholic* Church's public and official determination as to which of these two adjectives is to be given precedence in principle and practice: Is the Church more Roman than she is Catholic? Or is Catholicity to be more operatively determinant than Romanità?

Whatever be the rightness of this evaluation (and it obviously does not suffer from the vice of complexity!), it seems to me that there is a second, and perhaps even more permanently significant, question that is being frankly proposed, and is at present in the process of resolution at the Council. And that is the question: Is the Church Catholic or is it Clerical? In other words, the question of the role of the laity in the Church.

The outcome of the first question, Catholicity or Romanità, would seem certain. If, despite the overwhelming vote in favor of the collegiality of bishops in Session II of the Council last Fall, there remained any lingering doubt, this was effectively set to rest by Pope Paul's opening speech to the third session in mid-September. The burden of that address was his urgent hope that Vatican Council II would complete the unfinished business of Vatican Council I, by declaring the supreme ruling power of all the bishops of the world in union with, and under the headship of, the Pope.

The second question, is the Church clerical or catholic, though it is still under discussion, seems from all ascertainable reasonably reliable indications to be similarly certain of a forceful judgment in favor of catholicity. This would mean, in concrete language, that the layman's rights of full, responsible citizenship in the Church are to be doctrinally clarified, and recognized and utilized in practice. Please note: I have been careful to enumerate separately, doctrinal declaration and implementation in fact. Even though the Council is certain to urge the latter, and even though we could presuppose optimum good will on the part of all concerned, the process of this readjustment in the policy of the Church, from the Curia down to the parish level, is probably going to entail painful patience. In my own mind, I compare this forthcoming declaration on the role of the laity in the Church to the decision of the Supreme Court of the United

States on desegregation. Because of long-established contrary sociological patterns, the implementation of the principle established, even if carried out with "due deliberate speed," of necessity requires not only time but the kind of generous charity which covers a multitude of sins.

One of the most illuminating factors in the Council's discussion of the layman's role was the unexpectedly severe criticism encountered by the Schema concerned, entitled "On the Apostolate of the Laity." The document had been prepared by a group of bishops and priests well known for their past energetic sponsoring of laymen's rights. Moreover, they had been actively assisted in their task by several laymen internationally prominent in the Catholic lay apostolate movement. And yet, by an astonishing irony, these men, whose chief concern had been to assert the layman's active role in the Church over against an undue and centuries-old clerical preponderance—these men, I say, heard their document denounced as excessively "clerical."

The very first intervention, by Cardinal Archbishop Ritter of St. Louis, firmly sounded this theme. He called the document too clerical, too patronizing, too prolix, diffuse and abstract, and called for its thorough revision. His speech was like an electric shock, alerting the Council Fathers that a good fight was in the offing. As a matter of fact, however, always excepting a predictable point of view espoused particularly by some Spanish and Italian Bishops quite innocent in their experience of the need of Christian witness in a secularist or at least pluralist world, Cardinal Ritter's criticism was not only echoed, but magnified in volume and intensity by the great majority of speakers.

Thus Bishop Charbonneau, of Hull, Canada, bluntly called on the Council "to crush once and for all that error which is the source of so much harm, clericalism." (Incidentally, to avoid any misunderstanding as to the import of these clerical denunciations of clericalism, it might be useful here to quote the description of clericalism given at the American Press Panel on the first afternoon of the great debate: Clericalism was there described as "the intrusion of the clergy in areas in which they have no competence.") But to get on with the story. According to Bishop Charbonneau, the apostolate of the laity is not merely a remedy for the shortage of priests. The laity are not there to do what the clergy would do if they could. The laity have a specific role in the Church, through their baptism and their place as adult members of the people of God. Just as Christ, to save humanity, became incarnated in it,

so, too, to save the world, the Church must become incarnate in it. One cannot collaborate in the redemption of the world without becoming incarnated in its structures. The Church must make her own all the aspirations, all the anxieties, everything of the world but sin. The struggle for social justice, against racism, for peace must be struggles with which she is of her nature identified. And in the concrete order, such identification can only be achieved through the activity of the laity, which for that reason can and must be called an apostolic activity.

Archbishop D'Souza, of Bhopal, India, drew further practical conclusions if the Council was to take seriously the active role of the laity in the Church. Why should the Church (he asked) be always and solely represented by priests at international gatherings? Why should not competent laymen be employed in many offices of the Roman Curia and the papal diplomatic service, thus freeing the priests for their more specifically priestly and ministerial tasks? Why should not laymen even be appointed as Apostolic Nuncios or Apostolic Delegates?

"Let us beware of too much prudence (he said). If it leads to immobilism, it is worse than foolhardiness. All our talk will be in vain unless there is a radical re-organization of all levels of the Church. Nothing must be done against the bishop's commands or pre-scinding from them. But this does not mean that nothing should or need be done unless it comes from the initiative of the bishop and is according to his wishes, nothing unless it is explicitly commanded or approved by the bishop. . . . Brothers (he asked, addressing the assembled bishops directly), are we, the Catholic clergy, truly prepared to abdicate clericalism completely? Are we prepared to consider the laity as brothers in the Lord, equal to ourselves in dignity in the mystical body, if not in office? Are we prepared no longer to usurp, as we formerly did, the responsibilities which properly belong to them, or rather—if I may express this a bit more discreetly—are we prepared to leave to them what is more pertinent to them, such as the fields of education, social service, administration of temporal goods, and the like? (And he might well have added: communications. For it is now generally conceded that the lamentably unsatisfactory character of the Schema on Communications, promulgated by the Council last September, was due not least of all because its authors did not include laymen, who would have been specially competent in this field.) "Let us not forget (the Archbishop continued) that the people of God are not a totalitarian state in which everything is governed from on High.

Where is the liberty of the sons of God? . . . There is no hope for the apostolate of the laity if they are always to remain under the thumb of clerics. There will be mistakes and difficulties, but one of the facts of life is that there is no growth without crisis. The Schema opens up a new era and a new spirit."

This speech, obviously, was strong meat. And very many of those present would doubtless have wished for a blander sauce to accompany its presentation. And yet it is indicative of the tenor of the Council that the speech was given the rare tribute of a round of applause.

Another intervention which met with a similar tribute was that of Auxiliary Bishop Leven of San Antonio, Texas: "The Schema should more plainly and forcefully state that the apostolate of the laity is of the essential nature of the Church. The apostolate is not conceded or mandated to the laity by the bishop or the pastor, but is the working out in practice of the gifts of the Holy Spirit. It is the duty of those who receive the charismata of authority and administration to moderate and guide the apostolate of the laity, but they may not suppress it. . . . The Schema should emphasize more the necessity of a real and meaningful dialogue between the bishop and the pastor and the laity. . . . There is no dialogue if the laity are only invited to listen. Nor is there dialogue if the bishop listens only to individuals, such as his doctor or his housekeeper, rather than to truly representative laymen and laywomen." And his concluding plea was: "Our laity look to us for acceptance as full and mature members in the body of Christ. They ask only to be allowed to exercise the charismata the Holy Spirit has given them."

A final quotation from the Council floor may be permitted, since it was voiced by Archbishop Heenan of Westminster in the name of the hierarchy of England and Wales, which had the reputation (whether deserved or no, I am not competent to judge) of being among the most conservative of the episcopal blocs. Speaking of a proposed "Secretariat for the Lay Apostolate" to be set up in Rome, Archbishop Heenan said: "This is something which is bound to fail unless the laity are fully consulted. . . . It would be a disaster to model it after any of the departments already existing in the Roman Curia. Most of the members of this (proposed) secretariat must be chosen from the laity. Let me stress that the faithful take it badly if decisions over matters in which they are well versed are taken without any advice being asked from them. Before setting up the secretariat it is important, therefore, to inquire from the

laity themselves how they think it should be set up and how it ought to be run.”

Summarizing the mind of the obvious majority in regard to the Schema on the lay apostolate, Archbishop McCann of Capetown, declared: “The laity have been expecting a Magna Carta, and they did not get it.” But in view of the tenor of the criticism, I think we can confidently expect that they will get it in the draft to be revised. Nor should the bedeviled authors of the criticized draft be judged too harshly. The Schema as proposed to the Council had been, under orders, shorn of its doctrinal and more spiritually inspiring introduction and foundation—which latter became the universally praised Chapter 4 of the truly excellent Schema “De Ecclesia.” So what was left over was bound to be rather juridic and uninspiringly pedestrian, because there had been no time to re-cast it after it had been thus decapitated.

So it is to Chapter 4 of the Schema “De Ecclesia” that one must turn for a more satisfactory statement on the laity, one which has already in its general contents been approved if not yet promulgated. And this Chapter is without question the doctrinal Magna Carta of the layman and his role in the Church.

Historians differ in detail about the reasons why the Church and her most important activity came in the course of time to be identified more or less with the hierarchy or clergy, while a purely receptive if not passive role was assigned to the laity. There is general agreement, however, that this coincided and was causally related to the so-called triumph of Christianity under Constantine, and the civic honors and responsibilities heaped upon the bishops by that curiously Christian emperor. In other words, perhaps the Council will have historical import, not only because it marks the end of the post-counter-Reformation era, but even more fundamentally because it is deliberately rejecting the post-Constantinian ecclesiastical polity. Be that as it may, it should be pointed out that Constantine’s (and later Justinian’s) civic exaltation of the hierarchy might not have been so lasting and convincing had it not soon received a theological underpinning or sanction.

This was furnished by the Arian controversy of the fourth century and its aftermath. In reaction to the heresy which denied that Christ was God, orthodox Christianity so stressed Jesus’ divinity, His transcendence, that His mediatorial role as God-man was no longer seen in proper perspective. To oversimplify for the sake of brevity: Christ was, as it were, taken back into the Trinity as God to be adored, and the significance of His infleshing by which

He became our elder brother, the first-born of many brethren leading us back to the Father, was theologically obscured. The Eucharistic service itself, the Mass or Lord's Supper, was no longer understood as the action of Christ our elder brother uniting us in worship to the Father; but it became the miracle of divine change, of Christ descending, as it were, from His divine throne to the earthly altar and effecting this miracle *through His priests*. These latter, then, became the uniquely privileged class, they alone were competent—and necessary. There developed a clericalized liturgy, which soon led to a clericalized sociology. The Mass was not recognized as the action of the entire holy people of God with and through the leadership of a ministerial priesthood, but the sole preserve of the latter. The sanctuary became the Holy of Holies, to which only the highpriest, the ordained minister, had access. The *laos*, the royal priestly race, became the "laity" in the sense of the non-professional, the second-class, unknowing citizenry, who play only a passive receptive role.

In a word, because the role of the Eucharistic body of Christ was so imperfectly understood, the concept of the Church as a mystical body also suffered tragic diminution. Obviously, the retention of Latin as a sacral tongue was a contributing factor; but I think it is correct to state that it was retained and the Eucharistic prayer, to which, as Saint Justin proudly declares, all the people should respond their *Amen*, became a silent prayer, precisely because it was taken for granted that these mysteries are not for the laity. To keep them piously occupied, statues and stained glass and the pictorial bible of the poor, plus quite fanciful allegoric interpretations of the Mass, were proposed for their meditation, and proliferated. There were also other consequences, whose fruits are still with us. Because Christ's divinity, His divine transcendence, was so stressed, man could in worship confront Him only as a miserable sinner: the resurrection-joy of redemption, the glad consciousness of being, through Christ, a holy people (i.e., the resurrection emphasis) was replaced by a sin-consciousness that found expression in the multiple confessions or sin declarations in the medieval liturgy, and which (is it unreasonable to believe?) played its role also in the inherited theology of the sixteenth-century reforms.

Since, therefore, it had been a *theological* imbalance finding its visible expression most significantly in *liturgical* practice, which had assured both acceptance and permanence to an ecclesiology become hierarchology, it was fitting and even necessary that the balance be

restored by clarifying, first of all, the laity's rightful role in the liturgical action. This, too, was the Liturgy Constitution's contribution to the ecclesiology that is in process of formulation by the Council. Because the liturgy, and especially the Eucharist, is the chief activity of the entire *Ecclesia*, unless the layman has a part to play in the Eucharistic action, a part that is proper to him, that is his by inalienable right and not merely by sufferance or delegated privilege, the role of the laity in the Church will be lacking of its most important foundation.

We have already seen how the Liturgy Constitution insists that every liturgical action, including the Eucharist, is the action of Christ *and* the whole Church and not merely of the ordained minister representing the Church. Active participation of the laity is demanded by the very nature of the liturgy. The laity have a role to play which is properly and uniquely their own.

Hence the early historical principle of the so-called "distribution of roles" in the Eucharistic action, which found classic expression in the declaration of Clement's First Letter to the Corinthians at the turn of the first century, was formulated anew as a binding law by Article 28 of the Liturgy Constitution: "In liturgical celebrations, each person, minister or layman, who has an office to perform, should do all of, but only, those parts which pertain to his office by the nature of the rite and the principles of the liturgy."

The layman's distinctive and proper role in the most important apostolate of the Church has therefore been emphatically restored to him. And both the Liturgy Constitution and the subsequent Chapter 4 of the Schema "De Ecclesia," which deals with the laity and which was significantly inspired by the Liturgy Constitution, stress the biblical and theological basis of this restoration: the royal priesthood of all members of the Church, conferred on them by God's mercy in the sacrament of baptism, completed and perfected in the sacrament of confirmation, and finding its highest fulfillment in the Eucharistic action. A theology of the lay state, as an integral and essential component of ecclesiology, is in the process of rapid evolution in the Catholic Church.

Personally, I am inclined to believe that this will, indeed, be recorded by historians of the future as the chief significance of the Council now in progress. The question of the collegiality of bishops vis-à-vis the Holy See, however weighty, seems to me of secondary import to that principle of collegiality as implemented on the diocesan and parish level, and as involving the active rights of the laymen based on their dignity as the royal priesthood and as members of the wor-

shipping people of God. Vatican Council I was the Council that defined the role of the papacy; Vatican Council II is the Council in which the Catholic Church is becoming more truly aware of her charismatic role as the people of God, whose hierarchy, bishops and priests, fulfill their *diaconia* to the laity, their ministry of service based in love, first of all and most importantly in the Eucharistic action which is their common and highest service to God.

Vatican Council II is, in fact, the first Council in history that has explicitly concerned itself with formulating a theology of the lay state. It now seems incredible to us that in one of the great theological dictionaries in current use, the entry under "laity" simply states: "cf. clergy," as if the sum total that could be said of a layman was that he was a non-cleric. Chapter 4 of "De Ecclesia" by contrast states: "By the title of layman are understood all the faithful who, not ordained in sacred orders or belonging to the religious state, are by baptism incorporated into Christ, constituted members of the people of God, and, having become sharers in the priestly, prophetic and royal office of Christ, fulfill according to their capacity the mission of the whole Christian people in the Church and in the world." The apostolate is not something adventitious or peripheral. It is not a part-time assignment to be undertaken by the more fervent. Rather, it is the totality of their Christian life and witnessing, the outward expression of their *sacramental* consecration by baptism, and their definitive commitment to Christ, to the Christian community and to the world renewed by every Eucharist. Their apostolate is not primarily a sharing in the apostolate of the hierarchy, as it has been defined until very recent times; the Schema "De Ecclesia" quietly corrects this still partial and, frankly, clerical view of the lay apostolate, by stating that the latter is a necessary sharing in the mission or apostolate of the *Church*. And none of the criticisms of the Fathers of the Council which I cited earlier, and which were directed against the truncated Schema "On the Apostolate of the Laity," which in its proposed form had been rejected by the Council, hold good or could be fairly voiced against this more developed and deliberate effort in the Schema "De Ecclesia" to present a theology of the lay state and the lay apostolate.

And it is this Schema "De Ecclesia," with its superb Chapters 2 "On the People of God" and 4 "On the Laity," which has been substantially approved by the Council of Fathers and will most probably be promulgated at the conclusion of the present session of the Council. In a word, the bishops of the Catholic Church in Vatican Council II by an overwhelming majority have vigorously championed the

rights and the essential role of the layman in the Church, and it is the ranking *clerics* of the Church who will officially declare and spell out the implications of the fact that the Church is catholic and not merely clerical.

Thereby one of the chief hopes of Pope John in convoking the Council will be fulfilled. For on Pentecost Day, 1960, Pope John stated that over the spiritual portals of Vatican Council II should be engraved this text from Ephesians 4 as its motto: "Speaking the truth in love, we are to grow up in every way into Him who is the head, into Christ, from whom the whole body, joined and knit together by every joint with which it is supplied, when each part is working properly, makes bodily growth and upbuilds itself in love."

IV. A Protestant Report

ROBERT E. CUSHMAN

1. The Scene and the Spirit of the Third Session

On a morning in early October, 1964, I departed for St. Peter's earlier than usual. The clattery old bell of the Castle of Sant' Angelo rang eight o'clock as I passed along Piazza Adriana and under the arch of the medieval wall that still connects the papal apartments of the Vatican with the ancient fortress. Down the Via dei Corridori I went, past the offices of the Secretariat for the Promotion of Christian Unity to the southern arc of the Bernini colonnade and the entrance. My Vatican passport, bearing the signature of Augustine Cardinal Bea, was recognized by the guard with a friendly nod, and I proceeded along the circular way among the towering columns of Bernini's porch, past the Bronze Door of the papal palace and into the vast expanse of St. Peter's square. I noted that, in the interim between the second and the third sessions of the Council (cf. *THE DUKE DIVINITY SCHOOL REVIEW*, Winter 1964, pp. 3-19), neither the statues of St. Paul nor St. Peter had suffered change. St. Paul had not lost his sword, and St. Peter still firmly grasped the keys.

My intentions that morning prior to the convening of the Council were avowedly photographic. Chartered buses, cars, and taxis were beginning to disgorge their load of episcopal and clerical splendor. In pairs, in groups, sometimes in great waves of purple, the fathers of the Council—bishops, *periti*, and now and then a cardinal—mounted the gradual incline toward the gaping portals of St. Peter's facade. Moving with the throng, I clicked my camera at will. Pausing at the top against the massive front of the basilica I introduced myself to a solitary bishop who, like myself, had stopped to watch the on-coming host. He turned out to be a sort of summer neighbor of mine. He was Joseph Berry, Archbishop of Halifax. An African bishop approached. I raised my camera threateningly. Good naturedly he protested: "I'm not photogenic!" He stopped. We laughed. He was photogenic, and I caught him neatly, wide mouth laugh and all!

Now appeared Dr. Lukas Vischer of the World Council with his camera and with intent like mine. Then there was William Norgren of the National Council of Churches. Shortly appeared my friend Father Vincent Yzermans of National Catholic Welfare Council Information Service (cf. *THE DUKE DIVINITY SCHOOL REVIEW*,

Winter 1964, pp. 20-26). He was accompanied by Bishop Francis Schenk of Duluth, with whom I had made acquaintance at the second session. Then appeared a friendly neighbor, Abbot Walter Groggin, O.S.B., of Belmont Abbey, Gastonia.

I recount these things to convey to you something of the human side of the Second Vatican Council. A momentous event it is in modern Church history, but it is made up of people. The majestic and august solemnity of the setting, the ceremony, and the splendid ecclesiastical attire of abbots, bishops, patriarchs, and cardinals easily disguise the common humanity that, in most cases, is just below the colorful surface and will often disclose itself spontaneously. It will do so in the jostling jocularly of the coffee bars or in the casual renewal of acquaintance with *periti* or bishops in the side aisles of the basilica. There is Father Placid Jordan, O.S.B., I met last year, or there is Bishop Leo Dworschak of Fargo, or Bishop Hock or Bishop Buswell of Colorado. And you may even see Father Godfrey Diekmann of Collegeville, Minnesota, taking a "breather" from translation on behalf of auditor Mary Mother Luke, conversing now with a colleague under the great dome beside the towering papal baldaquino.

And on the human as well as on the ecumenical side, I wish you could have been at dinner one evening in Rome with a group of American bishops and observers at the Embassy Restaurant on Via Silicia. It is impossible to convey in the time allotted the enlarging sense of openness and fellowship mutually shared in informal conversation, the consciousness of aims and ends in common, the tacit mutual acknowledgment of the rightness of *rapprochement* between Christians, and the maturing sense of mutual acceptance without nicety or strain. I wish you could have heard irrepressible Bishop Stephen Leven of San Antonio, master of ceremonies, the responses of the several observers, and the fervent evangelical exhortation of Bishop Floyd Begin of Oakland, California. He is chairman of the American bishops' committee on ecumenics and was chief host that evening. He grounded ecumenical fellowship upon the Johannine teaching, the new commandment, "that ye love one another." However tedious, perplexed and prolonged the way to Christian unity, he testified, the way will be illuminated and made plain only by Christian *agapé*. What is membership in the Church, he said, remains an uncertainty even for this Council; but he implied clearly that its basic criterion is love of the brethren as the surest indication of the love of God. That speech will not be recorded in the documents of the Council; the sentiment may find only muted representation there. But it is worth recording here because it is indicative of the wind

of the Spirit which *is* "blowing where it listeth" and inspiring and animating a new impulse within the Roman Catholic communion.

While, doubtless, it would be simple-minded to suppose that so authentic a Christian understanding as that sketched by Bishop Begin is safely representative of the mind of the Catholic episcopate as a whole, it would be perilously dishonest not to acknowledge in this viewpoint another sign of enlarging ecumenical concern among the hierarchy that was influentially nurtured by John XXIII and has been continued by his successor. This aspiration toward emancipated fellowship among Christians, quite apart from the intricate doctrinal questions of unity, is finding increasing response on the part of large numbers of the episcopate as it was also powerfully reaffirmed in Paul VI's recent encyclical, *Ecclesiam Suam*, and in his opening address to the third session of the II Vatican Council in September this year. (See Appendix, p. 75.)

I believe it is my duty as well as my privilege as a Protestant observer to the Vatican Council to notify you that the winds of a new ecumenical spirit are seemingly gathering force in the Catholic Church. I regard it as a responsibility to appraise you of this and to suggest that it confronts you as a new fact in the church history of our era. If it is so, it constitutes an emergent powerful impulse in the ecumenical movement of our time. If this emergent force prospers and links itself, however tenuously, with the ecumenical thrust of the past forty years that flowered in the World Council of Churches, it could in a century, perhaps in a generation, greatly alter the shape of world Christianity.

But let me add this word about the ecumenical ferment of the Catholic Church. It is nascent. It is recent, and I venture to suggest that its full import and the strength of it cannot be adequately ascertained or properly appraised simply by a close reading and study of the conciliar documents, forward looking as they are, that will issue from this Council. Progressive and reforming as are the declaration of the Council on the Church, ecumenism, and religious liberty, they, nevertheless, do not and cannot embody or convey the enlivened spirit, the "new wine," which, I believe, is presently bursting "old wineskins" and seeking new avenues and forms of expression or better, to mix the figure, more suitable vehicles of its purpose and efficacy. In particular, and apropos this point, attention should fasten upon those sentences of the schema "On Ecumenism" which stress the look toward an open future as directed by the leadings of the Holy Spirit.

It is necessary, therefore, in studying the ecumenical pronounce-

ments of the Second Vatican Council, to remember that positions taken reflect the necessity of adjusting the aspirations of an unfolding vision to the tenacious, safe, and even seductive traditionalism of the past. For what you have in the conciliar decrees reflects, but does not wholly embody, the growing edges of a nascent spirit and an emerging mentality. It was loosed by John XXIII, but it emerges encumbered by the resistance and lag of centuries and the wholly human fear of change.

It is no news that the movements of the Divine Spirit are always encountering the resistance of the flesh. John Wesley and François Fenelon alike agree, and doubtless against Calvin, that resistance to the Spirit of God is always man's possible course. Moreover, Protestant theology always has taken seriously the Pauline warning, applying it alike to the individual and to the Church: "But we have this treasure in earthen vessels." The "earthen vessel" can obstruct and stultify the operations of the Spirit. It can delay and frustrate the divine purpose. If I may be indulged the reference, the secure power of the Petrine "keys" can obstruct and counter the thrust of the Pauline sword of the Spirit.

But while we take these things into account, I think I would be an unfaithful Protestant reporter on Vatican II if I did not voice the considered judgment that the Holy Spirit is at large today in the Catholic Church, and that the Spirit is one of renewal and almost of revolution. In Pauline language, I think I see it as a struggle between the "letter that kills" and the "Spirit that makes alive." Also, I believe I see signs that the Spirit is in process of transforming the "letter" and may yet profoundly reshape the "earthen vessel." I know that many Catholics do not ordinarily regard the Church as an "earthen vessel;" but, if this reshaping occurs, then I perceive a time not far off, perhaps rather sooner than later, when Protestant Christianity will be forced, in a measure and magnitude well beyond present contemplation, to undertake a radically new assessment of its traditional form and manner of expressing the Christian faith in worship, in life, and in work.

II. *The Papal Line*

Although I have registered these rather positive general impressions regarding the spirit and thrust of the third session of the Second Vatican Council, it would be foolhardy to suggest that the way is now safely cleared for the renewal and assured up-dating of the Catholic Church. The crucial document of the Council, that on the Church and the episcopate, has been overwhelmingly approved in

principle. But while I was writing these words in Rome in October it was rumored that one Italian bishop had circulated among the Council fathers a full scale refutation, in several languages, of the Schema on the Church with extensive rebuttal of the pivotal third chapter dealing with the episcopal college. In the process of thirty-nine ballots treating the several sections of the schema and involving approximately 2200 votes per ballot, a hard core of resistance registered itself in number varying from 50 to 300. In general, but not exclusively, resistance centered in the southern European, specifically, the Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese episcopates. This has been the case from the beginning of the Council.

The Italian episcopate is, as I perceive it, frantically opposed to losing the absolute hegemony of Rome and the Roman Curia over world Catholicism. Nevertheless, save for outspoken assaults upon the declaration on religious liberty, the reactionary conservatives of the Curia and the Italian episcopate have been either notably silent or moderate in public interventions in the Council during the third session. In explanation, one surmises that a combination of factors have assisted Paul VI in gaining a surer command upon the ecclesiastical household both of the Curia and the Italian episcopate than he was in fact assured of in the closing weeks of the second session of 1963.¹

As for the Council procedure and operation in the third session, it was plainer this time, I believe, that the praesidium of the moderators was far better organized for the expeditious prosecution of business than was the case during the second session. It did not have, however, the full cooperation of the General Secretariat of the

1. Varying interpretations will be and have been placed upon the crisis that erupted in the Council, November 19, 1964, and the Pope's part in it. The Pope's failure to honor the petition of a thousand Council fathers to overrule the announcement of Cardinal President Tisserant blocking a vote on religious liberty raises serious questions about his ability to sustain independence of conservative Italian ecclesiastical and political forces. It was one hundred and fifty south Italian bishops who induced Tisserant to foreclose procedural voting on religious liberty. Tisserant secured majority consent of the Council Presidents minutes before his announcement. The imminence of Italian general elections is involved here and the threat of leftist resurgence. But it would be premature to decide that Paul VI, in his decision not to overrule the praesidium, thereby capitulated to the conservatives, for to have overruled would have been to countermand legitimate authority and lawful presidential prerogative. However, it remains true that a powerful reactionary maneuver was successful in the last hour of the third session in obstructing the general will of the Council on religious liberty. The progressive majority had been taken by surprise, and their enraged frustration may yet be heard from. The sorry episode places in bold relief the momentous and pressing question whether world Catholicism can be de-Romanized.

Council, and signs of resident opposition from within that agency became manifest over the week-end of October 11th when die-hard reaction attempted, through the office of the General Secretary, a maneuver to subvert or emasculate the declarations on the Jews and on religious liberty. The first was to be buried in the Schema on the Church. That on religious liberty was to be revised by a joint commission "stacked" with reactionary party men, and both declarations were thus to be taken out of the hands of Cardinal Bea's Secretariat for Christian Unity.

This was a surreptitious affair that was out-manuevered by the Secretariat with the assistance of progressive cardinals headed by the courageous, quiet, but indomitable Cardinal Frings of Cologne. The American hierarchy were furious with Secretary General Pericle Felici, agent of the abortive *coup*. And the resounding negative vote on the Schema on "The Priesthood" of Monday, October 19th, was, almost certainly, a vote of "no confidence" for the management of the Council.

Thus, while conservative diehards of the Curia and the Italian hierarchy are neither sleeping nor resigned, they are plainly overpowered within the Council, and their October maneuver, inspired no doubt by desperation, on that occasion "boomeranged" to their public discredit and open reproach. Through the intervention of the determined group of progressive cardinals, Paul VI was able to confirm the normal procedures of conciliar process and reconfirm the Secretariat for the Promotion of Christian Unity in its responsibility for the emendation and revision of the declaration on the Jews and on religious liberty. Thus, with the decisive counter-maneuver of the progressive cardinals behind Frings, the most important declarations supporting the ecumenical thrust of the Council were preserved from emasculation and, perhaps, subversion. Behind the scenes in all of this was the master-hand of Augustine Cardinal Bea, who, for all his eighty-three years, is as competent a strategist as he is profound in his vision of a renewed Catholicism. Yet Bea does not, I think, enjoy under the present Pontificate of Paul VI, the place of confidence which he held under John XXIII.

In assessing the ecumenical import of the Council, consideration must necessarily be given to the role of the Pope. It is now fairly plain to me that Paul VI has been able to hold and implement, in the face of a constellation of impeding factors, the aim of Christian unity propounded by his predecessor. Although often thwarted, he has not been finally deterred from advancing the aims of the Council affirmed in his inaugural address to the second session in the fall of 1963. This

I believe to be true, although there was a period of critical uncertainty just prior to and following the terminus of the second session.

As I assess the data today, I perceive three steady lines of approach on the part of Paul VI which, together, combine to support the ecumenical thrust of the Council. In all of the Pope's pronouncements since November, 1963, there has been consistent emphasis, first, upon the need to complete the work of the First Vatican Council of 1869-70 in rounding out the teaching of the Church concerning its own nature and structures. Secondly, there has been recurrent stress upon the need to perfect the decree on divine revelation; and, thirdly, there has been an undiminished and developing expression of concern for the advancement of Christian unity.

To present fully and evaluate the documentary and factual evidence relating to these themes is out of the question here. A few things may be mentioned.

Regarding the nature and structure of the Church we should take due notice that, with and after Paul's closing address to the second session, he has consistently reminded the Fathers that it is their business to "complement" the work of the First Vatican Council (*Pope Paul and Christian Unity*, ed. T. Cranny, Chair of Unity Apostolate, Garrison, N. Y., p. 46). This was stated when the program he had accepted from John XXIII was under the most rigorous attack by reactionary Italian ecclesiastics and rightist political and economic powers in Italy. In the face of this opposition, the Pope's pilgrimage to the Holy Land was a strategic turning of the tide and for reasons which I ventured to propound last year.

Meanwhile, the Pope's published address "On the Dignity of a Bishop," June 28, 1964, contained another obvious overture to the Council to define the status of the episcopacy. His encyclical *Ecclesiam Suam* (August 6, 1964) was yet another open invitation to the Council fathers, indeed a hardly disguised plea, to define the doctrine of the Church. And the Pope's opening address to the third session of the Council gave more than half its space to promote the central aim of the Second Vatican Council, namely, to resume and complete the work of the First Vatican Council by perfecting the doctrine of the Church, principally in determining "the constitutional prerogatives of the episcopacy."

While Paul VI reasserted the primacy of the Roman Pontiff as defined by Vatican I, it is to be carefully noted that he called for a delineation of relations between the episcopate and the Holy See, a determination of status of the episcopate as a sacramental order, and roundly affirmed that the sacred ecumenical Council has "supreme

authority over the entire church" in company with the Roman Pontiff.

In all this, and there is much more, it is rather plain in retrospect, that Paul VI has consistently used his influence to encourage the pluralization of episcopal power and authority, which he understands to be shared with himself by the world episcopate. His own words indicate that he desires to redress the widespread impression of imbalance created by the First Vatican Council's definition of "the primacy." In so many words he denies that the primacy "limited the authority of bishops, the successors of the apostles." He denies that it "rendered superfluous and prevented the convocation of a subsequent Ecumenical Council, which," he says, "however, according to canon law has supreme authority over the entire Church" (*Opening Address, Third Session, Second Vatican Council*).

In September of this year I wrote in *Together* magazine that the tide is at the flood, that "the hard and momentous choice confronting Paul VI . . . is whether he can bring himself to accept the pluralization of ecclesiastical structure and authority as an inevitable concomitant of the Roman Church's now actual, if limited, universality." With his opening allocution to the third session of Vatican II, it now seems rather clear that, against very great odds, he did accept the pluralization in question. It appears that he has been able to hold the adopted line and program of his predecessor. His predecessor saw, I think, that apart from a universalizing of the Church, there was only the continuing prospect of diminishing returns for its apostolate in the modern world. To put it simply, John XXIII viewed a Curia-dominated Italian Catholicism as too narrow and restricted an instrumentality for the evangelization of the modern world. Or, even more plainly, he saw, and Paul VI has seen, that the First Vatican Council had inadvertently contrived to make Curial bureaucratic Catholicism, as the continuing executive arms of the Papacy, the determinative source of Catholic Christianity. He saw that this was anachronistic in the modern world and unreliable and even destructive of the spiritual vitality of the Church. He saw that the Pope had, in great measure, become a prisoner of the regime. Not only did the latter presume to infallibility in the administration of Papal affairs, as representative of the Papacy; it in fact tended, by a kind of inner logic, to usurp the Pope's spiritual leadership in the multifarious exigencies of administration. This is why John XXIII called for a Council, and this is why Paul VI has now insisted upon the supreme authority of the Council in company with the Pope.

Only through a Council was it any longer possible to subordinate to its proper role and function the Curial power.

Never shall I forget the day Ottaviani in the second session rose to reply to Cardinal Frings' ringing denunciation of the Holy Office as occasion of scandal to the Church. In his heated reply, Ottaviani presumed to warn and even threaten the Council. Here was the unveiling of the Curial mentality in its ripeness. It had gradually presumed not only to speak for but, in a sense, to be the Church. So far, in the third session, Ottaviani has been mostly silent and his closer colleagues somewhat mild and restrained, but, as we have seen, they have not been inactive, nor will they do other than die trying to retain for the Curia its absolute powers.

Finally, with reference to the Papal program, I would call your attention to the quite apparent indication that the encyclical *Ec-clesiam Suam* is an open appeal to the world episcopate to assert its authority and declare its common mind on the unsettled issues of the Council. Subtle, but nevertheless conspicuous, is the Pope's declination to interpose his own views or to determine the shape of doctrinal decisions which he reserves expressly for the episcopate in conciliar pronouncement. On one basic issue has he, as it were, almost "shoved" the episcopate, namely, to the determination of its own place, function, and dignity in relation to the Papacy. I am now well beyond need of conviction that the Pope believes, as he has repeatedly declared, it to be the crucial issue requiring the settlement of the Council. It is reported that, when the Council recently adopted by safe majorities the crucial propositions on the nature of the episcopacy, the Pope exclaimed, "The Council is saved!" At this juncture, it now looks as if the Pope has negotiated, with important assistance, the treacherous predicament and fearful suspense involved in inducing the Council to serve the Church by accepting a role that he has called "the supreme authority over the entire Church." I propose for your consideration the possibility that, for those who have eyes to see, you are witnessing a radical renovation of modern Catholicism. Paul VI has actively encouraged and the Council has finally responded in asserting the principle of *primus supra pares*. The Pope is first *over* equals, the visible symbol, perhaps the source, of unity in the Church. But always to be understood is this, that herewith the Roman Curia ceases to be the *de facto* arbiter of doctrine, policies, life and work of world Catholicism. It becomes only the administrative agency and servant of the world episcopate.

III. *The Ecumenical Import of the Doctrine of the Church*

On the opening day of the third session of Vatican II, Paul VI said: "The hour has sounded in history when the church which expresses herself in us and, from us, receives structure—and life—must say of herself what Christ intended and willed her to be. . . . The church must give a definition of herself and bring out from her true consciousness the doctrine which the Holy Spirit teaches her according to the Lord's promise . . ." In the time allowed it is hardly possible even to sketch the general content of that "consciousness" which has been impressively forged in the second and third sessions of the Council. The subject is vast, and I shall necessarily restrict commentary to selected issues which may attract Protestant reaction. I shall refer first of all to the ecumenical import of the controversial Chapter III, "On the Hierarchical Structure of the Church."

A. The voting on this chapter was already well along on my arrival at the third session. In a series of thirty-nine ballots dealing with an equal number of propositions, the Council fathers with large majorities declared themselves in favor of what has come to be called the principle of "collegiality." For many fathers, and especially for the observers, the extended voting on Chapter III was a period of high suspense. The conservatives certainly made some attempt at the last to stem the tide.

On September 21, Bishop Frane Franich of Yugoslavia was permitted to summarize objections to the "sacramentality" of the episcopate and the "collegiality" of bishops. He argued that Chapter III would set up a *new* doctrine on the episcopal college as having, by divine right, supreme power over the whole Church. This cannot be squared, he argued, with the primacy of the Roman Pontiff as that primacy is defined by Vatican Council I. Therefore, it makes the down-grading of the papal primacy unavoidable. It accords to the bishops, although on a subordinate level, the right with the Pope to co-govern the entire Church. The doctrine of "collegiality" cannot be proved from Scripture and had doubtful basis in tradition. In conclusion, it was contended that, while the doctrine may not be without probability, it has not reached the ripeness requisite for a present decision of the Ecumenical Council.

In all of this, I think I see "the fine Italian hand" of the Curia conservatives. I have it on the best authority that they had tried to get Cardinal Cushing to make the speech. It was prepared for his deliverance on his arrival in Rome in September. He refused out of hand. Probably in order to cover their tracks, the Italians then

turned to Yugoslavia. But it was too little and too late. Paul VI in the opening address had made the unmistakable call for decision; and Cardinal Parente of the Holy Office saw fit, for reasons somewhat inscrutable in view of his earlier record, to make the answering positive appeal for adoption. Parente even argued that there is not a twofold power in the Church, but only one—the supreme power which Christ conferred on the entire Apostolic College.

The meaning of “collegiality” invokes the composite of perhaps twenty of the thirty-nine propositions. Relying upon paragraph 18 of Chapter III, I venture to suggest that “collegiality” means that Christ willed bishops of the Church to be successors of the Apostles as shepherds, teachers, and sanctifiers of his Church to the end of time; that the sacramental order of the episcopate is “one and undivided”; that Peter and his successors are the principle of unity; and that the successors of the Apostles, together with the successor of Peter, govern the house of the living God; and, finally, that there is no ordination superior to that of a bishop of the Church.

What does this mean? Well, it would be presumptuous to say except in the perspective of history! But what it means potentially and may mean actually—depending on how it is henceforth implemented—is this: It means that the Pope is sacramentally first among equals. It means that he governs the Church hereafter more nearly with the consent of the governed. It may mean that government of the Church will become a coordinate activity of the Pope and a council of bishops. It may mean a redistribution and pluralization of power. It probably means that papal pronouncements and acts will become increasingly conciliar in origin and substance. It may well mean that expressions of infallibility in declarations on faith and morals will become more nearly conciliar. It means a certain decentralization of power and authority reinvesting it in national or regional conferences of bishops. Negatively, it means, as already stated, reducing the power of the Roman Curia more nearly to that of an administrative correlating agency of the whole Church.

To be sure, what has been voted by the Council in principle remains to be implemented. Implementation rests in great part, but not entirely, upon the initiative of the presiding Pope. Only time will tell in what measure decentralization of authority provided in principle can and will be appropriated in fact by the world episcopate. There are significant precedents for this in France, the Netherlands, Germany, and Poland. For the moment, we have only the vindication of the principle of the pluralization and decentralization of authority.

Now, what is the import of this for ecumenicity? On this, one can

only guess. One may suspect that for ultramontane Catholicism an imbalance has been redressed. John Henry Newman, God rest his soul, must rejoice! For Protestants, the monolithic ecclesiastical empire of Rome has received some remodeling. The offense of a monarchial anachronism, belatedly sanctioned in 1870, has been relieved. Some relief from the domination of a decadent Latin and provincial Catholicism looks more possible. It sometimes even looks as if Catholicism may not always have to be just Roman and might become just Christian! Who can foretell the consequences of this new look? For the Eastern Orthodox, we had better wait and see. At the moment, all I can suggest is that, with the adoption of the new doctrine of the universal episcopate, the Pope looks more like the Bishop of Rome and the primatial patriarch of the See of Peter and somewhat less like the absolute and solitary Vicar of Christ. But to this new shape of things I am disposed to think "high-church" Anglicans are more likely to experience acceleration of the pulse rate than will the Orthodox. Do not, however, underestimate the long range significance of this alteration. Conjoined with parallel actions of the Council, and reinforced by them, the altered style has in it the potential resident force of a genuine Catholic renaissance and a powerful motivation toward unity.

B. Adequate treatment of the first and second chapters of "De Ecclesia," on The Mystery of the Church and The People of God is out of the question. On the side of ecumenical import I can mention only a few features of more positive implication.

First, one notes that the whole treatment of the Church is scripturally based rather than philosophically grounded. Moreover, in line with recent developments in biblical theology, the Church is seen as the culmination and climax of the history of salvation recorded in the Sacred History. The Church is the kingdom of Christ now present in mystery and, by God's power, is visibly growing in the world. It was established by the Son of God and is sustained and sanctified by the Holy Spirit. Pre-eminently the Kingdom is manifested in the Person of Christ Himself. But the Church is hallowed by His continuing presence in the Eucharist and in the sanctifying power of the Holy Spirit.

Of the Church, Christ is the only mediator and redeemer; and the Council is unsure and rather indisposed to attribute to the Virgin Mary the role of "mediatrix," but at present the matter is unsettled. Mary is, however, safely to be considered as the "mother of the Church" and its pre-eminent member. The Church also is "the people of God"—an emphasis both biblical and Augustinian. The

whole people is called to a "royal priesthood" and is, as a whole, endowed with special and diverse graces and gifts.

There is a distinguishable priesthood of the faithful, on the one hand, and of the hierarchical priesthood, on the other. The priest is specially endowed with sacred power for ruling, teaching, and the administration of the sacraments. While the priesthood of the faithful is exercised in concurring with the sacrifice of the Eucharist, the hierarchical priesthood alone possesses the apostolic and supernatural endowment of grace to discharge the office of teacher, ruler, and hierophant. Thus it is declared that outstanding, that is, pre-eminent among the gifts of Christ and the Holy Spirit is the grace of the Apostles. This grace is continuously transmitted to successors. To the Apostles and their successors the Spirit subjects the receivers of the *charismata*, that is, the faithful. Finally, the Church is endowed with heavenly goods, the continual grace of the Spirit. It is, accordingly, at once a visible group and a spiritual community. It forms a single reality in which coalesce, after the manner of the Incarnation, a human and a divine element.

For Protestants, a few problems begin to emerge which I will attempt to state succinctly in the order of their gravity:

First, there will be some trouble among the non-episcopal Protestant brethren about the doctrine of "apostolic succession," which is spelled out with remarkable confidence about the facts of Apostolic history in Chapter III and has been, not surprisingly, fully adopted by the Council. Accompanying this is the declaration that tends to find in historic succession the somewhat over-confident assurance of endowment of grace for every successor. In this regard some Protestants have, on empirical evidence, found cause for doubt.

Secondly, most Protestants will have trouble with the pervasive assumption of both the Schema and Paul VI's opening address to the third session that, in a super-eminent degree, grace is singled out for the hierarchical priesthood or that a distinctive dispensation of grace constitutes an authoritative body within the universal royal priesthood of all believers and that this sets them apart as the ruling, teaching, and sacramentally empowered body. From this, of course, derives the doctrine of the authoritative *magisterium*, or teaching office of the Church, which now, with Vatican II will be shared by Pope and episcopate. In certain contexts and under certain conditions, this *magisterium* becomes infallible.

To the Protestant, this places more confidence in the power of Divine grace than its vehicle seems always to assure. It is not that

the Protestant is not a respecter of persons (he is in fact liable to his version of discrimination among them) ; it is rather that the Protestant takes St. Paul very seriously when he says of the Spirit of God that "we have this treasure in earthen vessels." You might say that his anthropology is more dismal, or that he trusts God more and man less than Catholic tradition seems disposed to do.

Thirdly, we are brought to the third point, which is derived. The Protestant has a different view from that of the Catholic of both the temples of the Holy Spirit, which we are, and the liability of any and all temples to defilement. It is for this reason that he is dubious about all conceptions of the gift of grace in the analogy of a permanent endowment. This is what the Schema "On the Church" has left rather unexamined and unaltered as the notion derives from Catholic tradition. The Protestant is not aware that any person or any institution, including the Church, *is* holy as a capital investment to draw upon. The Protestant is disposed always to say that the Church is being made holy, that God is *sanctifying* the Church ; but the capital is God's, in His keeping and cannot be surely available by way of assured quarterly dividends. There the Protestant does not presume on any permanent endowment.

And this brings us to the final point. The knowledgeable Protestant will agree to "the mystery of the Church." He will agree that its visibility never exhausts its reality, that what it appears *as* is not the sum of what it *is*, for the sum of what it *is* includes God's Holy Spirit and this is in God's keeping. But, just so, he will be very cautious about conceiving the Church after the analogy of the Incarnation because analogy so easily is transmuted into univocacy by the vulgar, of whom there are many.

The human vehicle of the Church is, in point of fact, not amenable to the Spirit of Christ in such measure of pre-eminent perfection as the humanity of our Lord was subject to His Divine nature. Accordingly, the Protestant finds the Incarnation *einmaligkeit*, that is, absolutely unique and therefore, alone and uniquely revelation and redemption. It views any modification of this absoluteness a temptation to the domestication of deity or of the Spirit of God. The Spirit bloweth where it listeth ! An ecclesiology which understands the Church as some mode or manner of the Incarnation will eventuate in a doctrine of revelation that finds the latter equally in Christ and in *tradition*. It will, furthermore, tend to insist on locating the keys of the Kingdom *somewhere*. The Protestant is simply unable to *locate* them, because they are, he believes, in God's keeping or because

there is no *real* "extension" of the Incarnation. Thus, the Protestant is reluctant to accept any modification of "the mystery" of the Church. For him the Church is more radically a mystery because the only source and ground of its life is in God, not in man.

Now what I have said is affirmed only to help us appraise the measure of the ecumenical import of "De Ecclesia" from the viewpoint of, I believe, classical Protestant theology. I am far from suggesting that the Schema does not entail *rapprochement* with the Protestant standpoint. It does so in its Christocentricity, in its scriptural orientation, in its doctrine of the universal royal priesthood of all believers, in the Church as the body of Christ, and in its emphasis upon the mystery of the Church. But where it stops us, I think, as Protestants is just exactly in its failure to let the "mystery" of the Church be radical. The problem centers, perhaps, in the notion of grace as a permanent endowment. Endowments require safekeeping and, ordinarily, trustees empowered to conserve and disperse. This crystallizes in its way the problem of freedom and authority.

Manifestly, this Roman Catholic version is one possible conception of the Church. A long and noble and fruitful history proves that! In its principle of collegiality, the Catholic Church has made a significant advance, I believe, in broadening the conception of trusteeship to include a far more representative board. I think we should both acknowledge and seek to understand the full significance of this transformation that now appears in our epoch. If, however, from the Protestant standpoint we are to appraise the import of all this for the cause of Christian unity, it is not too soon to begin to ascertain the fundamental issues which will have to be faced openly in the "dialogue" which Paul VI eloquently described and recommended for the days and years ahead. Dialogue is in fact the new word of the third session of Vatican II. It is just beginning. Some of us have experienced a deep and abiding fellowship already with our Catholic brethren. We have been greatly enriched. The eyes of our minds have been opened to dimensions of Christian life and experience hitherto obscured to us or unknown. We are the better for it.

And now, in closing, let me remind you of two things: I warned much earlier that you cannot measure the emerging power of the ecumenical movement and spirit of the Catholic Church simply by assessing the documents of the Second Vatican Council. I urge you to recall the reason: it is that the decrees of the Council are a resultant of two forces operative in the contemporary Catholic Church. One is the vision of an opening future under the leading of the Spirit of love and light. The other is a tenacious backward look nostalgic

for a glorious but vanishing past. At this moment, despite the critique I have ventured, the Council is, I believe, succeeding in turning more nearly to the future than to the past and in a spirit of trust, on the part of most Council fathers, that would hearten and rejoice you.

The second matter is this: I do not know if I shall ever again revisit St. Peter's square to watch the fountains through the columns of Bernini's colonnade or behold with upward glance the massive figure of St. Paul armed with "the sword of the Spirit" or St. Peter with the "keys," but this I hope and pray—that, in the varied course of her modern pilgrimage, the Catholic Church will come to redress an ancient imbalance: I pray that she will one day come to place as much, nay more, confidence in the Pauline sword of the Spirit as, in all these centuries, she has rejoiced, some think too much, in the power of the keys.

What we are faced with, what we shall be faced with in the years of the hoped-for dialogue ahead between Catholics and other Christians, is the centuries-old antinomy between Petrine and Pauline Christianity. The hope of unity depends upon a mutual discovery that the two are in a relation of polarity, not simply of contrariety. Somehow "the power of the keys" must be truly balanced by "the sword of the Spirit," and, I would add, conversely "the sword of the Spirit" must be balanced by "the power of the keys." In this polarity is the hope of ecumenical advance and, down an unknown road, perhaps, the eventual reunification of Christendom.

V. Prospects of Ecumenism

ROBERT E. CUSHMAN

I. *Intimations from Paul VI*

The rays of a late afternoon September sun slanted through the high windows of the Sistine Chapel and warmed the bluish tones of Michelangelo's great masterpiece, the Last Judgment. From where I sat, the man contemplating eternal damnation was discomfitingly visible, as was also the sovereign Divider of the sheep from the goats. The great fresco left no room for doubt that human life is always in crisis that calls for decision. And, in a real sense, the fact of our being there at all as non-Catholic observers was evidence that momentous decisions are called for in the face of the revolution within Catholicism precipitated by a Pope, now gone to his reward, himself having faced the formidable issues of his moment of leadership of the Catholic Church.

That afternoon, as the observers to the Second Vatican Council sat in a rectangle awaiting the entrance of Paul VI, it was easy to imagine the scaffolding and the titan of artistic genius, centuries earlier, plying his colors in a colossal effort to discharge his lay apostolate to Pope, to Church, and to the glory of God. Now, centuries later, strangers and pilgrims, we entered into the immortal inheritance of Michelangelo's stewardship of faith in the course of pursuing our own stewardship of larger ecumenical understanding.

It was hardly possible to conceive a more majestic and solemn setting for a climactic moment in modern church history. It was to be the third meeting of the observers during the period of the Council with the reigning Pope—a privilege not regularly afforded the generality of Catholic bishops. The first meeting was in the fall of 1962, when John XXIII asked the observers not to ponder his words merely, but to try to penetrate his mind and heart and comprehend the measure of his rejoicing in their presence, the warmth of his welcome, and the fervor of his hopes.

Now, this meeting would be the second with John's successor. The Secretariat for the Promotion of Christian Unity, under Augustine Cardinal Bea, had made the arrangements with customary unostentatious competence. Its chief director, second in command to Bea, the newly elevated Bishop Willebrands, was the attentive and unflinchingly gracious presiding host. Monsignor Arrighi bustled pleas-

antly, as usual, securing every detail of protocol, and Monsignor Dupré, Father Stransky and others of the Secretariat staff hovered in the wings.

Cardinal Bea himself entered, stooped, as it were, with the weight of benign sagacity but devoid of all pretense, and took his seat to the right of the papal chair.

At length, Paul VI entered without announcement: restrained, composed but masterful, and smiling somewhat shyly or sadly, I thought, followed by his attendants. When he had motioned us to be seated, Cardinal Bea arose to give the observers both welcome and introduction. Thereafter, the Very Reverend Archimandrite Pan-teleimon Rodopoloulos, the rather youthful emissary of Athenagoras, Ecumenical Patriarch of Istanbul, addressed the Pope on behalf of the observers in irenic but somewhat reserved, if hopeful, generalities. To this Paul VI responded, reading slowly in French with directness, evident earnestness, and disciplined warmth.

What the reigning Pope has to say on the ecumenical front, activated as it is by the Second Vatican Council in its third session, cannot be passed unnoticed.¹ He expressed "spiritual joy" in the renewed meeting with the observers. In the fact itself he found renewed evidence of mutual satisfaction unmarred by signs of fatigue or disappointment but, on the contrary, of increasing liveliness and trust. An "abyss of diffidence and scepticism" had been "mostly bridged over," he declared, and, in physical nearness, there had been much conducive to "a spiritual drawing-together" formerly unknown. "A friendship has been born," he said. "A new method has been affirmed." You may note, said the Pope, "how the Catholic Church is disposed towards honourable and serene dialogue. She is not in haste, but desires only to begin it, leaving it to divine goodness to bring it to a conclusion, in the manner and time God pleases." While the Catholic Church is "unable to abandon certain doctrinal exigencies to which she has the duty in Christ to remain faithful," she is nevertheless "disposed to study how difficulties can be removed, misunderstandings dissipated, and the authentic treasures of truth and spirituality which *you* possess be respected" Paul VI went on to say, that the Catholic Church is ready to study "how certain canonical forms can be enlarged and adapted." All this, he affirmed to the end of facilitating "a *recomposition in unity* of the great and, by now, centuries-old Christian communities still separated from Us. It is love, not egoism, which inspires Us: 'For the love of Christ impels us' (II Cor. 5:14)."

1. See Appendix for the verbatim address in English translation, page 75.

As the Pope spoke, the setting sun accented the colors of Michelangelo's Last Judgment. The sincerity of his spoken words was unmistakable and compelling. So also was their tact, their candor and integrity. Together we joined in the *Pater Noster*, each in his own language, and before departing, we recited together the *Gloria in excelsis Deo*. Such was the common prayer of the observers with the Pope as lector.

Observers of the Second Vatican Council cannot easily dismiss the Pope's expression of spiritual satisfaction in their continuing presence. It is true, not merely at the Council but elsewhere, that chasms of diffidence and pervasive distrust have been greatly replaced by emergent friendships and unprecedented fraternity. From the side of the observers, I can corroborate the Pope's impression that relations between us, the Council fathers, and the theological consultants became, especially in the third session, matters of mutual acceptance, one might say almost of expectant normality. Manifest everywhere down to the level of the Vatican guards was an atmosphere of enhancing trust and enlarging respect. In informal discussion, at receptions, and private dinners, lively dialogue replaced hesitancy and protocol. Conversation became increasingly unstudied, free, and eager and even probing. Amusing, perhaps, but significant was a tendency of many observers to identify themselves almost unconsciously with liberalizing tendencies and spokesmen thereof.

The fact is that "dialogue" became the fashionable word at the third session of the Council. It found a new place in both official language and official function. In the interim between sessions, it had received not only papal sanction but also development and elucidation. The Pope's strongest and clearest utterance in his recent encyclical *Ecclesiam Suam* set forth the nature and advanced the desirability of enlarging and continued dialogue with non-Catholics. Moreover, it was recognized that, by its nature, dialogue presupposes a certain mutuality of respect between partners of dialogue, a spirit of openness and inquiry with the prospect of enlarging mutual understanding.

This sustained and quite forthright invitation to dialogue on the part of the Roman Pontiff is a remarkable departure from the defensiveness of late nineteenth-century papal pronouncements that warned of the menace and required abstention of the faithful from intercourse with non-Catholics. At the same time, Paul VI has been candid. In *Ecclesiam Suam* he has said that "it is not in our power to compromise with the integrity of the faith."² So also in his words

2. *Ecclesiam Suam*, English translation, Huntington, Indiana, 1964, p. 37.

to the observers he spoke openly of inability to abandon "certain doctrinal exigencies" as the price of fruitful conversation. Nevertheless, now that the Catholic Church has entered into conversations and taken "the initiative toward reunion," it is prepared to study how obstacles may be overcome to facilitate "a recomposition in unity."

This is a new phrase and worthy of most careful attention. Offered in the newly enunciated context of "dialogue," it proposes, I think, to find a way of advance toward unity that avoids and may supersede the offensive and, certainly, naive notion of *return* to the Catholic fold. "Recomposition" is not simple "return." It acknowledges "the authentic treasures of truth and spirituality" possessed by non-Catholic Christian communions. No longer is Catholic truth peremptorily juxtaposed to non-Catholic error with no prerogative left to the erring but recantation and return. Tokens, signs and marks of authentic Christianity are conceded, however incomplete. Moreover, if only truth has rights, then partial truth has also the right to some acknowledgment.

Having granted, then, elements of truth and godliness, some signs of the Spirit's working, in non-Roman communions, there is, I believe, in the Pope's recent statements discreet announcement of a willingness to enter by "serene dialogue" into an era of doctrinal discussion and theological negotiation looking toward "a recomposition in unity" of the separated communions with the Catholic Church. The consummation may be late or soon, but its declared vehicle is dialogue and negotiation, however protracted. It is not individual conversion but communal *rapprochement* and recomposition based upon an open forum of free give-and-take and not only in conversation but also in fellowship of common prayer and common social action. The new approach was so plainly set forth by Archbishop J. C. Heenan of England at the second session of Vatican II that it bears quoting: "The ecumenical dialogue," he said, "is not undertaken with individual souls in mind, nor in order to gain the better of an argument. The dialogue has to be a sincere attempt to understand the beliefs of our separated brethren. It must also present and explain Catholic teaching to them. It is a coming together of brothers, not an encounter of enemies. It takes place mainly between communities, that is, between the Catholic Church and non-Catholic Christian churches or communities. It is rooted in mutual trust and complete charity."

From these things I believe we may perceive that, in his conception and authorization of dialogue, Paul VI has provided a recognizable method and vehicle of ecumenical endeavor for the Catholic

Church in its thrust toward the reunification of Christendom. Not to be overlooked, either, are many open doors for larger development of Catholic thought and action in almost every conciliar document of the Second Vatican Council. Through these open doors, with the instrumentality of dialogue—and providing the present temper continues—the Catholic Church is mounting an ecumenical offensive of very great potential influence and power. The Church manifests an increasing determination, from its side, to change radically the climate of inter-confessional relations. Surely, in the days and years ahead, it will require unforeseen varieties of positive, theologically informed and forthright response on the part of the member churches of the World Council. They can hardly ignore the challenge to encounter through continuing dialogue. They were less vulnerable with Rome in self-imposed isolation.

II. *The Conciliar Decree on Ecumenism*

Turning now to the Council documents, what is their import for the development of Catholic ecumenism? The limit of time forces me to be very selective. The ecumenical import of the already promulgated Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy has been illuminated by Father Diekmann, whose role, not only in its composition but in its post-conciliar implementation, has been and continues to be deservedly large. From the Protestant perspective, I would underscore only the importance of its pervasive stress upon congregational participation in worship, the centrality of the Bible in liturgy as a teaching instrument, and the indispensability of the preached Word to illuminate the Church's celebration of the Word in sacrament. The introduction of the vernacular will do more to demystify and, correspondingly, instruct Catholic worshippers than the majority of the Council fathers, who voted for it, may admit publicly. Obviously, the attendant adoption of the Revised Standard Version of the New Testament by the American hierarchy, making it the common text of American Christians, has enormous significance and will be the basis of unprecedented communication at all levels. The express recommendation of the Schema "On Divine Revelation" that the Scriptures be read by clergy and laity is, especially with reference to the latter, an unlocked door, capable of swinging, one would judge, both ways.³

3. *De Divina Revelatione*, Council Document III, 25.

A. Catholic Principles of Ecumenism

Turning attention directly upon "De Oecumenismo" and the work of the Secretariat, let me say with studied reserve that the work leading to the preliminary adoption of this conciliar document October 8, 1964, was discharged with fidelity to a great insight, genius of administration, and epoch-making and adroit determination. The Secretariat itself has been a remarkable working team. When some day the story can and will be told about the Second Vatican Council, it will center around two very old men and a somewhat younger man, the last of whom, in the face of formidable complexities and age-encrusted tradition managed somehow to keep faith with the larger vision he had received.

John XXIII well knew that to open the Catholic Church to both the opportunity and challenge of Christian unity and the recovery of initiative, already completely lost to the World Council of Churches, required new and radical vision, extraordinary sagacity, and a totally new instrument within the Church itself. Thus, there came into being, as the pivotal and nucleating vehicle, the Secretariat headed by the learned Biblical scholar, Jesuit educator, and papal counselor, Cardinal Bea. As confessor to Pius XII, Bea knew more about the captivity of the Papacy to the Curia than most living men. Affinity there was between his authoritative learning and understanding and the spirit of John XXIII.

From that affinity the thrust of the Council toward up-dating world Catholicism emerged. It emerged against the resolute opposition of a majority of the inner ruling circle of the Curia, whose mentality was largely unrevised "counter-Reformation" but implemented by the anti-modernistic decrees of the nineteenth-century popes, *Syllabus of Errors* of 1864, and the unrestricted absolutism of the First Vatican Council. If Pius IX and Leo XIII had denied the right of error, freedom of conscience, and religious liberty, for the conservatives of the Curia this was infallible truth and the only available platform of Catholic relations with non-Catholic Christians. Christian unity could mean only one thing, recantation and allegiance to the Pope. In politics, Latin Catholicism had never really emerged from feudalism; and, in ecclesiology, it acknowledged no effectually saving action of God outside the Roman Church. Had not the *Syllabus of Errors* condemned even the moderate and humane surmise: "We may entertain at least a well-founded hope for the eternal salvation of all those who are in no manner in the true

Church of Christ"?⁴ Ecumenism could mean nothing but "return" to Rome, the only course held open by the *Dogmatic Decrees* of the First Vatican Council.⁵ What to Rome, then, was the significance of the twentieth-century ecumenical movement? From the perspective of Vatican I, nothing at all.

The story of the loosening of this mental straight-jacket would be a long one. Its outcome and eventuation is, perhaps, formulated for the first time in "De Oecumenismo" of Vatican II and reverberates in the Schema "On the Church." From the former a few crucial principles may be noted. First, interest in the restoration of unity is in some measure "a manifestation of a fraternal bond existing among all Christians." Secondly, "the spirit of compunction and longing for unity" manifested among Christians separated from the Catholic Church is a work of divine grace. Third, separations from full communion with the Catholic Church issued "not without the fault of people on both sides." Fourth, the validly baptized are possessed of a kind of communion, though not perfect, with the Catholic Church. Fifth, the Holy Spirit is the Church's principle of unity. This is to be noted in conjunction with the sixth point, namely, the life of grace, faith, hope, charity, and other internal gifts of the Holy Spirit are found outside the visible Church among the separated Christians. All these things, it is said proceed from Christ and lead to Him, all of them belong rightly to the one Church of Christ. And, in the Schema "De Ecclesia," a certain real connection with the Holy Spirit is affirmed of non-Catholic Christians. The Holy Spirit is "active even among them with his sanctifying power."⁶

This is a long way from the theory and practice of counter-Reformation popes: that dissent from the doctrine of the Church is deserving of death. Its presiding principle is that separated Christians may be participant also, though deficiently, in the gifts of the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of Christ. They are invited to consider the benefits of the perfect dispensation of grace afforded through the one divinely authorized and truly Apostolic Church. Yet it is allowed that, among the separated communions, "sacred actions" are celebrated that "can without doubt really generate the life of grace." In this we may see the victory of empiricism over dogmatic idealism. Dialogue is now the medium of communicating the excellency of the fullness of grace of which non-Catholics can appropriate but a portion. Irenics supersede polemics, but it is not a deceptive or "false

4. *The Vatican Decrees*, P. Schaff, ed., New York, 1875, p. 113.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 135.

6. *De Ecclesia*, Council Document II, 13.

irenicism," for behind these new and truly advanced positions lies the limitation of "doctrinal exigencies" which Paul VI warns the Church has not the power to modify. Christ entrusted his Church and, therewith, the authorized dispensation of his saving grace to the keeping of Peter and the Apostles and their divinely empowered successors. The question before us now as before, perhaps, is that of custodianship. It is the long-standing ecumenical question of the *ministry* and the *means of grace*.

B. Of Religious Liberty

The declaration on religious liberty or, as its subtitle reads, "the right of individuals and communities to freedom in matters of religion" appeared as "Declaration One" appended to the Schema "On Ecumenism." This was a modification adopted by the Secretariat in response to criticism that it was not integral to a statement of the principles and practice of Catholic ecumenism. In the 1963 recension it had appeared as a fifth chapter. Revised by the Secretariat between the second and third sessions of the Council, it was introduced on September 23, 1964, by Bishop Joseph DeSmedt of Bruges, who had also presented it in its initial form, and for the first time, November 19, 1963.

Summarizing a central theme of the declaration, DeSmedt asserted that "the basic foundation of religious liberty is the nature of the human person as created by God. The right to religious liberty rests in the fact, that, under the guidance of his conscience, every human person must obey God's call and will."

In his initial introduction of the text November 19, 1963, Bishop DeSmedt had presented four reasons why many Council fathers had insistently demanded that the Sacred Synod should proclaim the right of man to religious liberty. First, the Church must teach and defend the right to religious liberty because *truth* is committed to her care. Second, the Church cannot remain silent when half of mankind is deprived of religious liberty by atheistic materialism. Third, today in all nations men of differing religious faith or no faith must live together in the same human society at peace. Fourth, many non-Catholics suspect the Church of duplicity in seeming to demand religious liberty when Catholics are in the minority but refusing it when Catholics are in the majority.

Prefacing his remarks with this compelling candor, DeSmedt went on to define religious liberty as "the right of the human person to the free exercise of religion according to the dictates of his conscience." The words have a familiar ring, as if the Pilgrim Fathers

were *redivivus* in Rome or Roger Williams had returned to receive plenary indulgence from unlikely quarters. Religious liberty, negatively considered, DeSmedt declared, "is immunity from all external force in man's personal relations with God . . ." DeSmedt's *relatio* was received with applause. So also was the clipped and cogent intervention of Archbishop Heenan, now a cardinal, on behalf of the hierarchy of England and Wales. "We praise and unreservedly approve," he said, "the proposals of this Schema on religious liberty." He cited the statement of Pius XII that "the common good might impose a moral obligation in what are described as Catholic countries to respect the freedom of other religions." The world is small today, Heenan continued, "and the internal events of one nation have consequences over all the world." For the sake of the common good freedom of religion must flourish in every nation of the world.

The offensive had been adroitly mounted. An effort to persuade and to allay the reaction of conservative prelates from Catholic countries of southern Europe was evident. At that juncture the ground-swell of support that actually emerged was not by any means presumed upon by the Secretariat. Plausible as might be DeSmedt's persuasive view that religious liberty is implied in the very act of faith as unenforceable response to a supernatural gift, there was pervasive suspense and uncertainty. The *Syllabus of Errors* of 1864, in condemning "indifferentism," had condemned the proposition that, "Every man is free to embrace and profess the religion he shall believe true, guided by the light of reason." True, the Declaration states he shall now properly be guided by "conscience," and a quite different conception of man is envisioned. But religious liberty has no standing in Catholic countries, and the Latins did not easily forget that Leo XIII had condemned "liberty of worship" as "no liberty, but its degradation" unless it is worship which God has plainly revealed and entrusted to the Catholic Church.⁷ Furthermore, the dogma of Vatican I, "that the Roman Pontiff, when he speaks *ex cathedra*, that is, when in discharge of the office of pastor and doctor of all Christians, by virtue of his supreme Apostolic authority, he defines a doctrine regarding faith or morals to be held by the universal Church, . . ."⁸ is possessed of infallibility, complicated the situation. Religious liberty as "the right of the human person to the free exercise of religion according to the dictates of his conscience" did not immediately appear to square with the prevailing understanding

7. *Libertas Praestantissimum* 1888, in *The Church Speaks to the Modern World*, E. Gilson, ed., New York, 1954.

8. *Op. cit.*, *Dogmatic Decrees*, p. 167.

of what the Church had taught generally and some pontiffs of the Church in particular.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the redoubtable and eloquent Cardinal Ruffini, archbishop of Palermo, Sicily, was first to speak to "vindicate the protection of the common law of our holy religion." He supposed it gratuitous to exhort Catholics not to use force in effecting conversions. But we should not, he declared, confuse *freedom*, which appertains to those possessed of truth, with *tolerance* which must certainly be patient and kind. "Only truth has rights, and truth is one." And, recalling Leo XIII, it was not hard to see that the tradition was on his side. Here was a living survivor, flesh and blood, of the counter-Reformation, in the afternoon of the twentieth century.

Such a view as this, which justified the Inquisition, has no doubt served well to repress religious liberty of conscience for centuries in what its spokesmen blandly call "Catholic countries." It was echoed by prominent representatives of Italian and Spanish Catholicism such as Cardinal Monreal of Seville, Cardinal Ottaviani, the arch-conservative Dominican, Cardinal Michael Browne, and Bishops J. Abasolo of India, Nicodemo of Bari, Granados of Toledo.

The declaration was declared a novelty in its substance and in contradiction with alleged assertions of Pius XII. Ignored was the printed documentation of the decree which, in support, claimed the authority of John XXIII, who in *Pacem in Terris* had declared: "Among the rights of men this too is to be reckoned, that he can venerate God according to the right rule of his conscience, and profess his religion privately and publicly; to this right corresponds the duty of recognizing it and cultivating it; which duty is incumbent upon all other men, especially upon those in charge of the public weal." John's infallibility was, it seems, not as palatable as Leo's. Even more emphatically than Ruffini, Granados of Toledo declared that our traditional doctrine has always been that only truth has rights while error is treated with tolerance if this is required in the interest of the common good. That this is indeed the traditional doctrine of Spanish Catholicism few will doubt. It is significant that important representatives of Latin American Catholicism did not, in speaking, support this inquisitorial line.

The bishops of the United States stood firmly together in defense of the declaration on religious liberty. They had come to the third session prepared so to do. Leadership was given by both Cardinals Meyer and Cushing. The colorful oratory and unfettered stance of the Cardinal from Boston won him a restrained ovation in the Aula.

He rejoiced that at long last there was opportunity for full and free discussion of the important topic. The Catholic and non-Catholic worlds, he said, are waiting for this declaration. Taking his text from the Preamble of the *Declaration of Independence* he said of this declaration on religious liberty: "It aims to safeguard what has well been called 'decent respect for the opinion of mankind.'" The question of religious liberty, regarded by some as complicated, is in fact simple. It has a twofold aspect: It is first the assertion of the freedom of the Church, that is, her divine right to achieve her spiritual end, and secondly insistence by the Church on this right for every human being. John XXIII, declared Cushing, has outlined the more cogent reasons demanding this declaration on religious liberty. Without impugning for a moment the Cardinal's sincerity, one may say that it was a politic speech both politically and ecclesiastically.

With care and cogency Cardinal Meyer defended the declaration as conforming to the teaching of modern popes, especially of John XXIII. Moreover it is "necessary" to assist freedom of religion where it is repressed, to insure fruitful ecumenical dialogue, to assure to others what we claim for ourselves. True religion is the voluntary acceptance of the will of God apart from all external constraint. Experience testifies that where the state dominates religion, civic welfare is harmed, whereas civil welfare flourishes where religious freedom is enjoyed. The last point reflects opinion widely shared by the American hierarchy. Among the American bishops one may also often hear the view expressed that where religion is disestablished, religion thrives; where it has the patronage of the state, it languishes.

The implication of disestablishment is plain; it is religious liberty for all. Thus, the issue is joined within world Catholicism between southern European Latin Catholicism, still committed to the figment of "Catholic countries," and world Catholicism long accustomed to exist and propagate itself amidst religious and cultural pluralism. To the latter group, the Leonine articles on "liberty of worship" are theoretically untenable and anachronistic. For the American hierarchy, the Church, as the Schema "On Ecumenism" declares, is a "pilgrim" in an alien world and better for the challenge this entails. Latin Catholicism, nestling in the false security of state establishment, still seeks, as Cardinal Rufini proposed, to "vindicate the protection of common law for our holy religion."

Here again is a basic rift in contemporary Catholicism between those who have learned that Christ does not need the protection of the state, and those, who with the outlook of the Middle Ages, would commandeer the succor of the "civil arm." If Catholicism enjoys

and requires state protection, then religious liberty remains a matter of toleration under law. If it does not, then the Church must risk its temporal fortunes on the cogency and verity of its message and life in a pluralistic society. We may well believe that to enter such a society, defenseless save for "the sword of the Spirit" and "the breastplate of righteousness," is a part of what John XXIII envisioned in his program both of inner renewal of the Church and the bringing of it up-to-date in the modern world.

We may perhaps perceive that John XXIII was the first Pope to break decisively with the Constantinian establishment which made Christianity the official religion of the Empire and which has controlled the mind of Roman Catholicism for fifteen hundred years. If so, he created a new era and deserves the title of first modern Pope. The question before the Second Vatican Council concerning religious liberty is, therefore, fateful above all others. Small as is the document, it embodies the answer to the question posed by the sixteenth-century Reformation whether the Church, in discharging its evangel to the world, shall walk by faith only in the power of the Holy Spirit of Christ or by connivance with and support of secular power. Although the sixteenth-century Reformers did not always perceive it clearly, the import of *sola fide* was equally appropriate to the Church corporately as to the believer individually.

To some within the Catholic Church who sincerely believe that Peter still holds the power of the keys, it has become painfully clear that this power can be enforced in the modern world only by the "sword of the Spirit." This is the underlying theological issue in the continuing struggle within Vatican Council II. A powerful and stubborn minority continue to resist. It is very evident that the attempted subversion of the declaration through the office of the Secretary General of the Council over the week-end of October 10-12, 1964, was a well calculated maneuver of desperation, presuming to circumvent normal conciliar process.

The temper of the Council had plainly indicated that reactionary Latin Catholicism of the "Catholic countries" was in imminent danger of being overwhelmed by a majority of the Council fathers. On September 25, after three days' debate on the Declaration, Cardinal Suenens, the Moderator, proposed a standing vote on the opportuneness of closing off debate. A "vast majority of the Council fathers," according to the official record, "declared themselves favorable." This vote remanded the document to the Secretariat for emendation and revision. Fifteen days later the move was made, through the Secretary General, to take the Declaration out of the

Secretariat's hands, placing it elsewhere for emendation and for some suitable disposition not wholly clear. It was then that a group of cardinals in company with the dauntless Cardinal Frings of Cologne interposed and were sustained by Paul VI in their insistence upon due conciliar process.

The final effort at obstruction was adroitly timed for the next to last general congregation of the third session. On November 19 came the vote on the complete text of the epoch-making Schema "De Ecclesia," for which 2,134 favorable votes were cast against 10 *non placets*. The announcement was received with recurring applause by the fathers. Thereafter, announcement of the final vote on the morrow "On Ecumenism" was made by the Secretary General as the Schema had been amended and revised by the Secretariat for Christian Unity, including the altered version of the Declaration on Religious Liberty. Thereafter the most dramatic moment of the Council's third session occurred.

Cardinal President of the Council Tisserant, having publicly consulted his colleagues at the presidential table, announced that several members of the Council had asked for further time to formulate mature judgments before being called upon to vote, that the new text of the Declaration is substantially different from the previous text discussed in the Council Hall, that this is admitted by the Secretariat. Accordingly, it has been felt that extra time should be granted and that the concession of this time is not a question that can be decided by a vote of the Council. Consequently, after the presentation of the report on the document in this morning's General Congregation, there would be no vote of the Council on the Declaration on Religious Liberty.

A perceptible sag in the spirit of the Council issued in general consternation and erupted into a conventicle that first centered around the dismayed Cardinal Meyer and then Father Godfrey Diekmann, O.S.B. in the south transept of St. Peter's as Dean W. R. Cannon of Emory joined the group. Cardinal Ritter entered the discussion. A crowd of bishops and *periti* gathered. Within a short space of time a petition to overrule the Council Presidency was circulating and gained under a thousand signatures. The response of Pope Paul VI to the representation made by Cardinal Meyer, Ritter, and Leger is common knowledge. He decided, and probably in accord with due conciliar process, to sustain the majority decision of the Presidents—however close it doubtless was—to postpone until the fourth session of Vatican II the vote on Religious Liberty. It was a critical and tough decision to make, but, in fidelity to conciliar process and,

indeed, to the principle of collegial responsibility and rights the Pope's decision was unavoidable. On the succeeding day, the 127th and final General Congregation, Cardinal Tisserant took notice of the great disappointment of a number of Council fathers, and in the name of His Holiness, informed the Council that the Council Presidency had agreed to the request of postponement advanced by certain Council fathers, that "this request had to be honored and conformably according to the Council's procedural rules." He assured the Council that the Declaration on Religious Liberty will come up for discussion and vote in the next session of the Council and, if possible, will have priority on the agenda. At the moment, this is the last word on the fate of religious liberty in so far as it rests in the power of the Second Vatican Council.

III. *Ecumenical Prospects in Summary*

In May 1964 the Secretariat on Religious Liberty of the World Council of Churches issued a memorandum evaluating the Declaration on Religious Liberty as revised for presentation to the fourth session of Vatican II. It concluded that in spite of some shortcomings regarding the criterion of limiting religious liberty the new draft is "satisfactory." It was added that, if approved by the Council without major changes, "it will notably improve the ecumenical climate and the relationship between the Roman Catholic Church and other Christians." This last judgment hardly needs reinforcement. The Secretariat for the Promotion of Christian Unity early came to a like conviction. It was, as we have seen, openly stated by DeSmedt on occasion of the Declaration's initial public presentation to the Council in November 1963. Subsequently, the ecumenical import of the Declaration was echoed and re-echoed in conciliar discussion. This in part accounts for the consternation of many Council fathers over further delay in vote and promulgation.

Meanwhile, the final approval of the Schema "On Ecumenism" was given at the 127th General Congregation of the Second Vatican Council and the final one of the third session. Of the 2,129 votes cast, 2,054 were affirmative, 64 negative, 6 approved with proposed changes, and 5 were null. This was a momentous victory attained over a long, thorny, arduous way, conceived in the spirit of John XXIII and executed with imperturbable moral fidelity, wisdom and Christian understanding by the Secretariat under Augustine Cardinal Bea.

After the successful vote on the fourteen sections of the three principal chapters of the Schema "On Ecumenism," continuing October 5 through 8, 1964, the Secretariat gave a reception for the observers.

It was in many ways a celebration. And nothing could be more appropriate than celebration among those who had, in this sphere, become by now colleagues. There was cause for mutual rejoicing and no more felicitous way could have been found, nor one of greater ecumenical and Christian tact, than for the Secretariat to share its rejoicing with the "separated brethren," for a deeper unity with whom it had valiantly labored.

In sharing his reflections with the assembled company, Cardinal Bea said, "the very fact that the vote was, one can say, morally unanimous is a motive for deep joy and great hope. In effect, more than 98% of the conciliar Fathers who were present and voted approved the Schema This result surpassed by far even the most optimistic hopes which we could have imagined but two years ago. This unanimity gives evidence that for the future the Roman Catholic Church, through its highest and most qualified representatives, is completely engaged in fostering, with all its strength the unity of all those who believe in Christ and are baptized in Him." Then alluding to "the inevitable difficulties" the further work of the Secretariat "will undoubtedly encounter," he gave utterance to what one may well believe is the unfailing source of his greatness as the leading Catholic ecumenical statesman of his day: "God's manner of proceeding in the work of Redemption consists precisely in being triumphant *by means* of difficulties and despite the insufficiency of his instruments and their weakness, 'in order to show that the transcendent power belongs to God and not to us.'" If I may venture a wild surmise it is just this transcendent power of God, which Bea honors above the defensive tendency to domesticate it, that has made him the chief architect of Catholic ecumenism and launched the Catholic Church upon a way whose outcome is not known to men.

Whatever else might be said, if time permitted, would, I think, only and manifestly come to this: It is now time for non-Catholic Christianity to awake to the challenge which will issue from the Second Vatican Council. It is not a challenge that can be ignored. It will require searching and thoughtful response. The "Catholic principles of ecumenism" will have to be faced, not alone by the World Council of Churches, but by the member bodies. The Catholic Church is now surely on the ecumenical offensive, and in defining how it stands with reference to us, it will force us to define with greater precision than has been our wont how we stand with reference to it.

After four centuries of mutual distrust, remoteness, and the virtual non-existence of communication between Catholicism and the Protestant Churches of the West, the Catholic Church has broken the

silence as well as the ice, and taken the initiative. It addresses us with an invitation to friendly dialogue in the atmosphere of restored Christian fellowship and without obscuring the differences between us. Sooner or later even in this citadel of Protestantism, the American South, we shall have to acknowledge that we are spoken to and that a new situation in World Christianity requires responsible answers.

We shall be faced with some decisions, and what decisions we make will be for us an occasion of judgment. It is just barely possible, or so it seemed to me, that this was the reason that prompted someone to decide to hold the meeting of the observers with the Pope in the Sistine Chapel that late September afternoon. We are always confronted by the Divine judgment, for judgment is incident to the decisions we make in life, in the history of Church and of nations. Michelangelo's fresco sets before the eyes this inescapable truth of existence in matchless line and unforgettable color. What we must not fail to realize is that today we are faced with the beginnings of a new era in Christian history. When I returned to Rome this past September, I was prepared for disappointment with reference to the Council's fidelity to the vision of John XXIII. I returned from the Council with the conviction that, despite great obstacles, the Council has been able to lay the groundwork for a renewal of Catholicism and, therewith, the beginnings of a new era of ecumenism that will inevitably implicate us all.

Appendix

Discourse of the Holy Father to the Observers at the Third Session
of the II Vatican Council (September 29, 1964)

Gentlemen, beloved and venerable brothers!

(1) This new meeting of your group with the Bishop of Rome, successor of the Apostle Peter, on the occasion of the Third Session of the Second Ecumenical Vatican Council, is a new motive for spiritual joy, which We like to believe to be reciprocal. We are made happy and honoured by your presence; and the words just now addressed to Us give assurance that your feelings resemble Ours. We feel the necessity of expressing Our gratitude to you for the favourable reception accorded Our invitation, and for your attendance, with such dignity and edification, at the conciliar Congregations. The fact that our mutual satisfaction over these repeated meetings of ours shows no signs of fatigue or disappointment, but is now more lively and trusting than ever, seems to Us to be already an excellent result; this is a historic fact; and its value cannot be other than positive in regard to the supreme common aim, that of full and true unity in Jesus Christ. An abyss, of diffidence and scepticism, has been mostly bridged over; this our physical nearness manifests and favours a spiritual drawing-together, which was formerly unknown to us. A new method has been affirmed. A friendship has been born. A hope has been kindled. A movement is under way. Praise be to God Who, We like to believe, "has given His Holy Spirit to us" (I Thess. iv. 3).

(2) Here we are, then, once again seeking, on one side and on the other, the definition of our respective positions. As to Our position, you already know it quite well.

(a) You will have noted that the Council has had only words of respect and of joy for your presence, and that of the Christian communities which you represent. Nay more, words of honour, of charity and of hope in your regard. This is no small matter, if we think of the polemics of the past, and if we observe also that this changed attitude of ours is sincere and cordial, pious and profound.

(b) Moreover, you can note how the Catholic Church is disposed towards honourable and serene dialogue. She is not in haste, but desires only to begin it, leaving it to divine goodness to bring it to a conclusion, in the manner and time God pleases. We still cherish the memory of the proposal you made to Us last year, on an occasion

similar to this ; that of founding an institute of studies on the history of salvation, to be carried on in a common collaboration ; and We hope to bring this initiative to reality, as a memorial of our journey to the Holy Land last January ; We are now studying the possibility of this.

(c) This shows you, Gentlemen and brothers, that the Catholic Church, while unable to abandon certain doctrinal exigencies to which she has the duty in Christ to remain faithful, is nevertheless disposed to study how difficulties can be removed, misunderstanding dissipated, and the authentic treasures of truth and spirituality which you possess be respected ; how certain canonical forms can be enlarged and adapted, to facilitate a recomposition in unity of the great and, by now, centuries-old Christian communities still separated from Us. It is love, not egoism, which inspires Us: "For the love of Christ impels us" (II Cor. v. 14).

(d) In this order of ideas, We are happy and grateful that Our Secretariat for Unity has been invited, on various occasions, to send observers to the conferences and meetings of your Churches and your organizations. We will gladly continue to do this, so that Our Catholic organizations and Our representatives may, on their side, acquire a knowledge, corresponding to truth and to charity, which are a prerequisite of a deeper union in the Lord.

(3) As for you, Gentlemen and brothers, We ask you kindly to continue in your functions as sincere and amiable observers ; and to this end, not to content yourselves with a simple passive presence, but kindly to try to understand and to pray with Us, so that you can then communicate to your respective communities the best and most exact news of this Council, thereby favouring a progressive drawing-together of minds in Christ Our Lord.

In this regard, We would ask you now to bring to your communities and to your institutions Our thanks, Our greetings, Our wishes of every good and perfect gift in the Lord.

All this, you can see, is only a beginning ; but, in order that it may be correct in its inspiration, and fruitful one day in its results, We invite you to conclude this meeting of ours by the common recitation of the prayer which Jesus taught us : the "Our Father."

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For Christian Unity

We thank thee, Father, for the life and knowledge which thou hast granted us through Jesus, thy Servant :

Glory be to thee for ever and ever.

We thank thee, Father, for thy holy name which thou hast hidden in our hearts ; for the knowledge, faith and immortality which thou hast granted us through Jesus, thy Servant :

Glory be to thee for ever and ever.

We thank thee, Father, for the call to prayer for the unity of thy Church, for all who are called by the inspiration of thy Holy Spirit to devote themselves to the cause of unity :

Glory be to thee for ever and ever.

In the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ, let us repent and confess our sins against unity :

For the little importance that we have given to this word proceeding from thy heart, "Other sheep I have which are not of this fold ; them also I must bring ; they shall hear my voice. . . ."

We beseech thee to pardon us, O Lord.

For our controversies, sometimes full of irony, narrow-mindedness or exaggeration with regard to our Christian brethren, for our intransigence and harsh judgments,

We beseech thee to pardon us, O Lord.

For all the violence which we have been guilty of directing in the past and even today against our Christian brethren,

We beseech thee to pardon us, O Lord.

For all restrictive measures unjustly taken against them,

We beseech thee to pardon us, O Lord.

For all self-sufficiency and pride which we have shown to our Christian brethren over the centuries and for all our lack of understanding towards them,

We beseech thee to pardon us, O Lord.

For all those things in our conduct and example by which we have obstructed our own witness and hindered the work of unity among our brethren,

We beseech thee to pardon us, O Lord.

For our neglect of frequent, fervent and brotherly prayer for them,

We beseech thee to pardon us, O Lord.

May the Holy Spirit guide our prayer for unity towards Jesus and the Father : Beyond the frontiers of language, race and nation,

Unite us, Lord Jesus ;

Beyond our ignorances, our prejudices and our instinctive enmities,

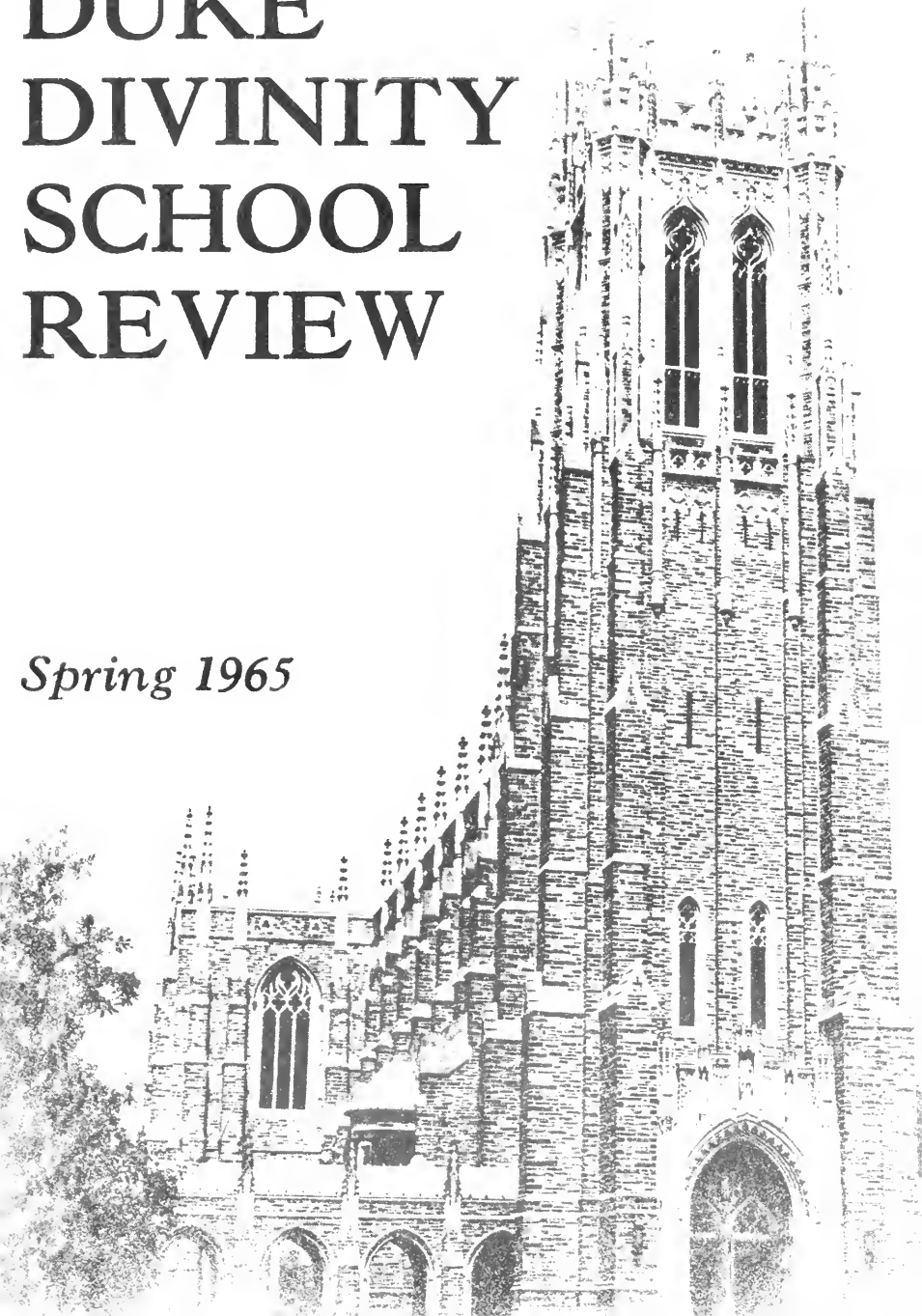
Unite us, Lord Jesus ;

Beyond our intellectual and spiritual barriers

Unite us, Lord Jesus. Amen.

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A Commencement Prayer

Eternal God, all-glorious, all-holy, whose quality of mercy we have known, with whom in daily labors we have walked, we humbly kneel in spirit before Thee in adoration and praise.

In special convocation we have gathered here—teacher, student, parent, wife, brother and sister and friend—in the joyous bonds of mutual affection and in the recognition of this high hour in the life of men and women whom Thou hast called unto holy service.

Our hearts are thankful for the trust and duty which we have been permitted to bear in these years. We are grateful for the sympathy and understanding of all who have given support and strength in difficult days, and for those who have inspired a joyous song of faith and faithfulness. So together in grateful praise, yet each in the sanctuary of his own heart, we offer unto Thee our gratitude.

Unto Thee, O Lord, we come with special petition for spiritual power, that we may fulfill our service well in Thy sight. We stand tonight upon a threshold of duty, poised for fuller opportunity and challenge; yet not in our own wisdom and strength shall we be equal to the task, but in Thee and Thee alone we have our trust.

Forbid that we become subservient to the voice of worldly counsel; keep us to our consecration within eternal wisdom. Raise us up, O Lord, as prophets in the proclamation of Thy truth, as voices in the declaration of Thy will, as ministers in the exemplification of Thy love.

Receive now our solemn commitment unto Thee, our joyous dedication to Thy service. Let us henceforth be found forever faithful to Thy truth, and forever assured that Thou whose we are and whom we serve art God indeed. Amen.

KENNETH W. CLARK

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The Critical Temper and the Practice of Tradition

RAY C. PETRY

The subject of my address is "The Critical Temper and the Practice of Tradition." This title may suggest the ruminations of a crotchety old man set in his ways. What I propose is a reassessment of the living fabric of our very existence. My approach will be historical by instinct and confessional in nature. You will not expect me to oversimplify either confession or history.

Let me present first the last part of my subject. The controversial word, tradition, is at root the very antithesis of a crystallizing process. Tradition implies the action of handing over or transmitting a deposit already committed for delivery, the act of presenting or surrendering something to another. Presumably, one may "hand off" in the wrong way or place the deposit in the wrong hands. *Traditores*, or early Christian traitors, did precisely that.

Christian history no less than football is replete with good and bad passes from center. There are bullet-like aerials and wobbly forwards, broken carries and open field runs, swivel-hipped jaunts and "piled-up" receivers. Brilliant passers are sometimes "swarmed under" before they can get the ball away. Lonesome ends frequently have too much company. Goal line stands nullify long, down-field marches. Occasionally there are grievous penalties and plays called back. Not infrequently the ball is fumbled, booted, or tossed away. The sports field and the Christian arena both know well facilitated transmission and stalled tradition. If I mix history with athletics, it is not because I am especially fond of big-time sports, any more than St. Paul was. I merely note a grim irony. Some people who cheer tradition in the stadium cannot differentiate an "offside" penalty from a touchdown play, when these occur in the jerky propulsion of Christian history.

Such history unfolds in direct relation to the living transmission of deposits of the faith. These are the exercises of worship, the proclamation of the good news, the handing down of instruction, the projecting of precious beliefs and customs, as well as the investing of all capital stock of the spirit. We are prone to say that Jesus

“blasted” tradition. What he actually did was to “blast off” by way of genuine tradition when pseudo-tradition was stalled. The parable of the talents is a commentary on tradition: the miserly protection of assets at the cost of non-investment, or risk-taking advance by way of varying degrees of commitment.

I am fully aware that my Biblical exegesis and my highly personalized translations are often the despair of students and professors. Yet I have the strong feeling that, if we can quote the words of Jesus with exactitude and not be reminded of something that has just happened in the family field of action or on the hearth of the soul, we are in the “fix” where the disciples often found themselves. We are still puzzling out the signals when the whistle registers the end of the play, down field.

Obviously, tradition involves both deposit and transmission, a receiving and passing on of a cherished legacy—not just faking with empty hands. Practicers of the Christian tradition must join the hand-and-heart brigade that relays the bequests of the faith down through the historic ages. In a sense, my very phrase, the practice of tradition, is tautological. A tradition that is not practiced is not a tradition. Jesus makes this point for many good people. They can talk a knot out of a board fence, but all they convey is stale air set in motion through an embarrassed knothole. Of such people Jesus said, “Practice what they preach but don’t imitate what they do—or, more often, don’t do.” A doctor has a practice only when he practices. A true tradition involves an infinitely variable application of procedures to purposes, of means to ends. The subtle factors involved in the Christian tradition include the discovery and appropriation of transmissible content, also the well-articulated receptivity that transforms butter-fingered fumbling into close-knuckled handing on. There must also be poised retentiveness until the moment and the method join for explosive or subtly nuanced transmission. All of this requires a nice combination of free wrist action and well-belted viscera. Necks should be more suited to bending than to breaking.

Put in automotive terms, tradition calls for a flexible power train, good torque to the wheels, a firm suspension and adequate room for people and luggage. Roaring exhausts and screaming tires are for young exhibitionists and old fools. But I forget. Many of you don’t know any more about cars than you do of church history. That compounds the felony of inexcusable ignorance. According to Divinity School statistics, some here have closer liaison with the begetting, carrying, delivering, nurturing, and being educated by

babies than with any other endeavor. Good enough! Here is tradition indeed: deposit, transmission, and much more. I can just hear some of you chortling that this is where you are proved authorities, whereas the old professor is a bumbling ignoramus. This could be two mistakes for you in just two tries.

I often had to care for my infant brother. This was research for which I had not registered. All the findings were unscheduled and rather uniformly disheartening. Decades later, in a moment of low respiration, I promised a friend to baby-sit for her one-year-old boy. She and my wife needed to get out for just a half hour—or so they said. That, my friends, was a historic occasion. Tradition never limped more haltingly than then. That little monster was universal history in kit form. He, personally, recapitulated Adamic disaster with full millennial overtones. He seemed happiest when at his worst. He was a loose package of spontaneity sharing his all with me. My wife and friend returned hours later when the baby and I were *in extremis*. Far from offering help, they broke into unrestrained laughter. My wife, who knew her English Bible as well as some Anglo-Saxon and considerable Latin, settled for a blasphemously irrelevant citation about “one’s putting his hand to the plow and not looking back.” What I had hold of was no plow. I would gladly have exchanged my squirming complex of soft incoordination for the steel plow-share of my rural boyhood. The most infuriating thing of all was not that I didn’t get my wife’s point but that I did. Sometimes, in the midst of violated nerves and spiritual rebellion, one has to finish, alone, the task he has begun, no matter how many other hands may lend assistance or withhold their aid.

I have read afresh with sharpened anguish in these recent months those quietly implacable words of Jesus: “He that putteth his hand to the plow and looketh back is not fit for the Kingdom of God.” But how can one, by himself, keep the plow cutting deep and true in the furrow of tradition where two pairs of hands once steadied the forward thrust? Often, in my boyhood, I have seen a farmer take a quick look back to note if his furrow were straight. Just then the plow hit an obstruction, jumped from the furrow and dragged him off course. Will God in His mercy help us to the end of the furrow if we look resolutely ahead? May He not, perhaps, delegate a loved one out of the burgeoning church triumphant to help beckon us on unswervingly to the far end of the field?

Down through Christian history the deposits of faith and love made by Jesus have been delivered in a practicing tradition. His was the genuine tradition received of God and placed in the keeping of

Christ's followers. All graces delivered to him by the Father have been passed on to us for unfaltering delivery by us against that Great Day. How poignantly on that night in the Upper Room were the cup and the bread delivered unto his disciples, to be perennially recommitted through the faithful until he should come again! How ringingly the plow popped from the furrow when Judas the *traditor* practiced tradition by betrayal with a kiss! How tragically Peter fumbled the commission of his Lord, only to recover it bravely and recommit it to eternity!

But how can there be any practice of the true Christian tradition without continuously invoking the critical temper? To the naive and unsophisticated, to be critical is to be negative and petulant, if not worse. Yet the very terms, both Greek and Latin, on which genuine criticism is based convey the sense of exercising careful judgment, of being exact and nicely judicious in one's continuing assessment of behavior and experience. Being a true critic means being able to judge and discern with propriety and cogency. What is needed is one who can express reasoned opinions and experienced wisdom on any matter involving judgments of value, rightness, truth, and beauty. Weighing historically and critically a live or eviscerated tradition calls for judicial estimates and decisions, hence the capacity to comprehend and expound what worths and verities are at stake.

The practice of the Christian tradition comes down, finally, to our truly critical appraisal and discerning appropriation of it. Just as there is no tradition without the practice of it, so there is no practice of tradition without the proper application of the validly critical temper. The divining and empowering exercise of that indispensable critique is made available to us in the Gospel. Hebrews 4:12 puts it thus: "For the message (or Logos) of God is a living and active force, sharper than any double-edged sword, piercing through soul and spirit, and joints and marrow, and keen in judging the thoughts and purposes of the mind." The judging and discerning here invoked is, in the Greek and Latin, the very critique supplied by the well tempered Gospel. Here is a finely tempered blade nicely fired and honed to the will of the Eternal and to the dedicated resources of the human. Here the laminated structure of human tradition must be forever separable and renewable by the all-discerning and unifying Word of Truth.

Jesus nicely embodied this dividing and distinguishing Word in his historic pastorate. He explicated it in his every testimony to the Father's initiative and the Spirit's ministry. The integrity of the true godly tradition was spelled out by him in every differentiating

circumstance of resolve and dedication. His historic Word like his cosmic Lordship was found to be an incising blade that opened festering sores. It was a healing knife that separated truth from error, good from evil, pose from innocence.

Repeatedly, his delivery of the Father's Word registered the practice of authentic tradition. This was in contradistinction to the rotting fabric of fake tradition upon which men prided themselves. "You hypocrites," he said, "for the sake of your tradition you control the private plays that insulate the message of hope from the hearts of men. The cup that should be filled and passed on to the corporate edification is polished until it gleams outside, even while decay multiplies within. Woe to you academic professionals, whose proud fundamentals lop over the elevated seats of the mighty. Actually, you are like graves that swallow life rather than reservoirs that release it. Your conception of passing on the Father's grace is to load some poor soul with burdens that oppress his spirit and stall his delivery of the Father's commission of love. You have taken away the key of knowledge. You are too proud to enter the Kingdom yourselves, yet you block the passageway to it for those who yearn to find it." Jesus thus passed judgment on the malpractice of tradition. He indicted broken transmission and violated deliverance. His was a pure critique and an oh-so-practical judgment of a ruptured tradition.

All judgment has been given by the Father to the Son. The Logos is, Himself, the model and the resource for those who would exercise true discernment in the practice of the Christian tradition. To be skilled in judging is to be an honest critic of tradition while practicing it. One needs first, and always, to practice the presence of God. This is to take the deliberate risk of examining critically under the *species* of eternity who we are and what we do, while we are being and doing it. To be over-preoccupied with self-examination, however, is to let the chisel of indecision jump into our sinews and cut the nerve of action. Not to examine and discern the nature of our being and doing is to reduce all our days to the nicety of accumulated shavings.

My father was a good carpenter as well as a competent electrician and a discomfiting preacher. Once he was holding an auger in his lap. That was no place to perforate a board. He got careless and the revolving point chewed deep into his groin. My mother despaired of his life, but he lived to run power saws according to, and across, the grain, for the making of a productive tradition. If

he were to come into this room today, I would walk out proudly with him, whatever visiting dignitary might be waiting.

More recently a fourteen-year-old friend of mine doing shop work sawed off the end of his finger. Looking foolishly at it where it fell, he wondered if it might not possibly belong to someone he knew. He replaced the bone in the pocket of flesh and took it along to the hospital. The surgeon sewed it back on. The bone knit tightly. Today there is a little white circle to show where the tradition staggered and resumed its way. Both my father and this youngster learned that dynamics need tempering with judicious direction. The Gospel that we so blithely aim at the untutored can skip into our own vitals and drain out all the marrow from our bones. Or, we may get self-conscious over deliveries and end wheels up, heads down in the ditch.

I well remember, as a boy, teasing my mother to come out and watch me ride my new bike. Then I begged her to suggest an itinerary for me. "Go down to Grandpa's," she said. "What shall I take along," I replied. "Just get yourself there," she retorted. But I persisted. She handed me a jar of butter and a packet of saccharine. Off I wobbled, balancing the butter and sampling the saccharine. She got critical. I lost my temper. My unsecured trousers caught in the sprocket. The tradition was interrupted. My fist landed in the butter; the idly spinning wheels landed atop me in the ditch. Reviewing my pilgrim's progress, she had several observations to make—all critical and strongly Biblical.

There was another occasion when the critique of tradition erupted from a five-months-old, nineteen-pound infant I was carrying. She was Sally Jane, my grand niece from Colorado. I plucked her off the Indiana plane at O'Hare field snuggled in what my wife habitually termed a sugar scoop. She fitted that thing like wet feet in a cheap pair of new shoes. She peered at my beard out of the silkiest lashes I have ever seen on a female involvement, young or less young. We walked a mile or two, I thought, and she held her fire, flirting and cooing to set me up for the kill. Then we had dinner. I bought her mother a steak and I had some soup. Since the first of the year I have become a connoisseur of soups and custards. We propped Sally Jane up between us. I tried to administer her bottle with my left hand while I sipped spasmodically with my right. But my delivery arm sagged, and she sucked air. She dug a well-flexed foot into my ribs. I sprayed soup like bug killer in June. Her mother choked on her steak. After that I kept the pipe line open, while Sally Jane eyed me warily, as good critics will.

Later, we set out for another mile, by my pedometer, to the end of the terminal. Sally Jane "had had it." I scorned carrying her over my shoulder like tail-end kids in an overloaded station wagon. So I bore her transverse to traffic—and protestingly recumbent. She couldn't "burp" in that position, and my arms ached with making history. Just then she let out a shrill wail like a supercharger on an old Duesenberg. Mothers in Israel doubled up laughing—out loud, I suppose, though I couldn't hear anything but Sally Jane. Sleeping sailors slid off benches and poured below decks like water suddenly released in a stopped-up sink. Sally Jane's mother, whom I used to minister to when she was a very little girl herself, strode along beside us offering such comfort as she could. "Don't let this bother you, Uncle Ray," she shouted. "It's nothing personal. She's tighter than a tick and she hates not seeing where she's just been or where she's going. She'll exercise her lungs 'till she's tired. Then she'll 'burp,' if you let her, and go fast asleep. You'll see." Which I did, in a bleary sort of way, when I had delivered her to the Denver jet. She "burped" ecstatically, yawned like a camel, shook the tears out of her ears, fluttered her lashes forgivingly and—slept like a baby. Here, then, was live tradition indeed: something beyond price accepted for delivery out of the past and handed on in faith to the future. And a realistic critique went with the tradition practiced. The impact was Biblical: a luminous page of history footnoted to *Heilsgeschichte*.

There are many ways of practicing the Christian tradition. One may live it confessionally. He may argue for it logically and philosophically. He may contend for it as a true martyr apologist. Who could be foolish enough not to sing it liturgically? Perchance one needs to reexamine and restate it theologically. Ought he not involve himself in it vicariously, by way of history and poetry? Presumably he could preach it and teach it. He might make it breathe more freely in art than in syllogisms. But discern it, critically, he must. In terms of it, all his living "yeas" and "nays" must be registered.

Jesus was always a sharp cross-examiner. He demanded that his witnesses renounce sheer equivocation. You might say that he reminded them of being under oath not to swear. He taught them not to reiterate vainly, but valiantly to affirm. One had to face up to "yes" and "no." Not that he made a fetish of these words as such. None knew better than he that an over-simplified "yes" often means "no" and a facile "no" sometimes ends up as "yes."

My mother frequently asked me if I wished to help her by mind-

ing the baby; to which I said "yes." Later she invariably inquired if I had irritated my brother; to which I testified "no." I lied both times. He often put me through ordeal by blackmail. That is, to get his way he regularly held his breath until he was an indigo blue. I waited each time until I feared he had expired. Then I prayed God to let him get back his breath, for which boon I offered to do anything my brother desired. Hearing this commitment, the darling infant would recover his wonted color and ease off into an instantaneous respiratory calm. In retaliation, I loved to wheel him over a bumpy crevice in the walk where a little water pipe demurely lay not quite flush with the concrete track. Blissfully trundling him along I appeared sacrificially devoted to his every wish. Suddenly he would become enraged. That pipe triggered a vibration in his sternum that registered in his voice box. There was, to him, a noticeable break in his tradition. My mother finally deduced the unusual incidence between one spot in our trajectory and the simultaneously generated wrath of my brother. She investigated. Then she brought swift self-knowledge to the seat of my conscience.

Sometimes it is truly difficult to make unequivocal answer to the enigmatic gospel Word. There is such a thing as denial by affirmation. Judas betrayed Jesus with a kiss. So, too, there is affirmation from deep inside denial. Peter outlived his betrayal of the Lord with a living death and a deathless life. In Jesus' parable one said "no" to a father's call, but practiced "yes." Another said "yes, to be sure," but rendered up a living refusal. Some, Jesus said, would meet him one day saying, "Lord, Lord, how nice to see you again. Remember when we met at Eden Rock in the symposium on the Judeo-Christian tradition?" To which he would reply, "I never set eyes on you in my whole life." Periodically, one needs to sink the nail of dedication without a vain flurry of blows. My father used to wince while I worried a nail home. The tortured surface of the board reminded him of a baby's bed made up by an elephant. There is a place and a time for a surcharged, unequivocal "yes" or "no." Again the gospel alternator registers both "yes" and "no." There is no betrayal quite like an oversimplified affirmative or negative. On occasion, the subliminal spirit records a double negation or a dual affirmation; as when one barter away Christ and neighbor in the same breath, or embraces both almost unaware in ministry to the least. The tradition of *sic et non* is not exclusively that of Abelard, or Gratian, or Thomas. It is integral with a critical assessment of the whole Christian tradition.

Ours is the privileged duty of applying the critical temper to

daily enterprise. We come to the moment of truth quickest at one specific juncture. This is where the Christian commitment via the well-tempered Gospel discerns the living paradoxes of the historic faith. The Gospel penetrates between the marrow and joints of four seemingly contradictory roles of historic Christian service. The evangelical critique cuts, first, like a healing knife between Ministry and Primacy. Second, it slices to the bone between layers of Stability and Wayfaring. Third, it neatly divides the word of truth between Regularity and Secularity. Fourth, the Gospel blade disengages and reknits the sinews of Vicariousness and Curacy. Put in terms of our profession of Divinity, these embarrassing paradoxes of the Christian tradition hold us in agonizing, historic suspension. We emerge now as Ministerial Primates; again as Stable Wayfarers; not least as Regulated Seculars; finally as Ailing, Vicarious Physicians.

Jesus loved to insist that he came not to be ministered unto but to minister. For him, primacy in ministry put the least first and the first last. Christian history records perpetual embarrassment over the unanimity with which Christians agree to this on principle but bungle it in practice. A Ministerial Primate is something of a cross between a Dachshund and a Great Dane. His rear quarters are an illustrated lecture on humility, fit to go through a low wicket. His front end can stand erect in nothing less than a lofty cathedral. A Ministerial Primate hints eloquently of a historic contradiction. A primate is an original who has primacy or precedence. To people who protest that this is no way to prove servitude he may explain that all his advanced degrees are in humility. Then he runs the risk of having some poor soul take him at his word. Church history could almost be summed up in terms of such upstanding lowdownness.

There are some ministers who take refuge in their historical primitivity. One can't be upbraided, surely, for being a primary, underived, pristine, aboriginal Christian. But genuine primitives have always been a rather jumpy lot, whether people or works of art. Frequently they have no more sophisticated rationale than Grandma Moses or the Twelve Apostles. At state functions some of the disciples were always getting up just when others were sitting down. It will take quite a spate of Ph.D. dissertations to make clear to us just what Grandma Moses thought she was doing. We are now waiting on the computer to get an authoritative list of St. Paul's publications before we can credit him with them properly in his *Festschrift*. As for unquestioned originals, personal or artistic, many

of them are now proving to have been fakes. A recent court case involving Stradivarius violins and the penalty for copying them ended in a mistrial. Some of the instruments used for normative reference turned out to be twentieth-century.

Actually some people prefer resplendent copies to worn originals, literary or human; or even smudged mimeographs to primary texts or plates, whether in literature, art or hierarchy. There are occasional churchmen who say, "What need to prove ministry if you have rank?" Others retort that there is no need to test status if one offers genuine ministry. But what actually constitutes ministerial authenticity and spiritual primacy? One can say all the right words, do all the proper things, and still be a "phony." Again, one's accent may embarrass everyone, his actions may humiliate his brethren, and the Lord may recognize him as a true, untouched original. Try too hard to be pristine and you may be merely antiquated. Rely on sophisticated advice and you may end up with Simon Magus.

A piece of twelfth-century sculpture depicts St. Peter looking calmly on while Simon tries his first solo flight. When the Great Magician crashes, Peter isn't even gloating. He has already flunked out of flying school himself. Perhaps, if we only understood the proper role of hierarchy, we could all settle down to work again. But that term can mean priest craft, and that's a "dirty word." Even our Roman Catholic brethren vacillate between being happy that they have hierarchy and feeling distressed at the thought that it may have them. The fact is that Jesus critically subjected every would-be minister to the daily practice of a paradoxical tradition. Such crisis testimony was deliverable only with the aid of the marrow-proving Gospel. Professional primates are available only at a terrible cost in marked down, ministerial good news. Perhaps what we need is a desegregated clergy that can share both ministry and primacy with a newly-commissioned, responsible laity.

Our embarrassment knows no abatement when we examine our historic role as Stable Wayfarers. We have often brought rhetorical tears to literary eyes with glib talk about our being colonists of heaven, those manning advance space stations for the Kingdom of God. There are people who think colonialism of any kind, perhaps even the ecclesiastical, has finally gone out of style. St. Augustine of Hippo puzzled quite a few construction engineers in his day. He claimed Biblically that our foundations are in heaven, though we help build an interim city upon them while here below. The Christian viator tradition seems good only for indirect lighting upon the more realistic space programs of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.

Everybody votes for stable flight inside space ships or outside. But Pilgrim Citizens! Who can build a community chest around them? And Hobo-Settlers! Who wants them to open a suburb? A Squatter is a Squatter—for a' that. Besides, émigrés are always munching sandwiches and leaving crumbs in the powder room. Is not the viaticum chiefly for dying people? Whereas we are in love with life.

That a Christian eschatology is the clue to all worthwhile social thought and action is hardly a thesis to make books sell. I know one such work that was taken off the publisher's list just before my wife died. Now I must re-read it to see what I once wrote, as if I understood it, before she embarked on her final flight. One day in February she complained to me about the bumpiness of an old DC3 we were flying from Purdue to Chicago. Yet, when in Duke Hospital, on February 18, I bid her fair passage to the Father's House and all the kinfolk above, she made no complaint. She spoke no word at all. She had already committed herself in full obedience to the heavenly vision. She had long since booked her passage and, I trust, received confirmation of her reservation. The ceiling was unlimited. Before God, I believe that the rudder of her pilgrim creed held true and the fuselage of her tradition sailed clean and whole into that far port. Yes, our very stability is in our journeying itself. But our mobility must and will not be domesticated, overmuch. Viators all, we have not been grounded like exiles from heaven. Rather, as those in the world but not of it, we journey with sublime patriotism to a beloved homeland. Orbiting a while in temporal climes, we confidently prepare for reentry to our native atmosphere. *Ars moriendi et vivendi*: the art of dying and living—it is all one. This is what we assure people with whom we sorrow, as those not without hope. Can we as a profession sing the viator's victory song? A number of you sang it with me not long ago. While our eyes rained tears, our hearts pumped the lifeblood of Christian triumph. Tears also have their part in critically tempering our practice of the Stable Wayfarer's tradition. They help wash away the impurities that becloud our vision, the self-pity that compromises our discernment. Sorrow is the nighttime bed of temporal pain from which eternal joy arises in the morning.

A disdainful reviewer once compared what he deemed my literary obfuscations with the confused dithyrambs of the Pseudo-Dionysius on the Celestial Choirs. Yet may not the Great Areopagite be, even now, a first desk man, or even concert master, under the Head Conductor in Heaven's Orchestra Hall? If so, I know who makes and tunes his wood winds and attends every rehearsal without fail: my

grandfather, who used to fashion willow whistles for me in my boy-hood spring.

So, living as we do in two worlds simultaneously, our paradoxical tradition is critically attuned to both Regularity and Secularity. We are Regulated Seculars, other-worldly men and women firmly placed and commissioned in this world. The seventeenth chapter of St. John's Gospel is an aging church historian's recommended reading for his fraternal colleagues, both faculty and student. Nowhere is the humanly impossible demand of Jesus rendered so divinely feasible as here. For almost thirty-five years I have taught classes on ancient and medieval church history, on monasticism and mysticism, on contemplation and action, and on many things critically theoretical enough to be truly practical. Ironically yet logically implanted in this historic tradition has been the instinct that calls for a secular clergy who would not be dictated to by the world, and for a regular clergy who would not be isolated from it. The seventeenth chapter of John is the constitution of those regulars who are the men for the ages. These are the truly regular fellows disciplined from beyond, for service in this seculum.

It has scarcely ever been wise for true clerics to be "hail fellows well met." We always walk a tight rope between looking and acting like everyone else and, on the other hand, distinguishing ourselves right out of the human race. One may absolutize ephemeral things and the life of the age until regulation is lost and the ages lie hidden from contemporary eyes. So, too, one may externalize the cult, in church as anywhere else, until the broken bread of Christ lies bloating on a deserted window ledge where St. Francis once found it. Meanwhile, men expire for want of that true viaticum throughout the world. Men for the ages dare not settle for being sergeants of the day. Neither may they chant their nostalgic lays "far from the madding crowd." Perhaps there is only one sufficient repulse for a blatant secularity that invades the church. This may be a true Christian secularity that dares help regularize the world anew under God's Providential Eye. Maybe the only cure for *suburbia* is a phalanx of the *urbs aeterna* propagandizing without a highly glossed portfolio in the *urbs terrena*. This could be genuine urban renewal. It could well require a kind of church sowed like grain in the fallow fields of the world, a church never yet seen, save in the retina of the Master's eye.

And so, at last, we come to our critical role as Vicarious Curates and Ailing Physicians. "The art of arts is the cure of souls," as Pope Gregory reminds us. This is no issuance of an easy nostrum.

Curacy in the Christian tradition has always meant vicariousness. By ironic inflection, a vicar may, in the exigencies of localized history, have been thought of as a mere stand-in for a curate. Yet curacy in the ancient sense has ever been a synonym for true vicariousness. Of Jesus it was truly said, in jest as in awe: "He saved others, let him save himself; himself he cannot save." Truly this was so. Curacy is always paid for in vulnerability. Jesus incensed his followers by asking who had just touched him in a crowd. With a security problem like theirs, they were asked for statistics on who nudged whom! "No," said Jesus, "I really mean it. Someone touched me, for strength has gone out of me." A trembling woman confessed. She had helped sap his vigor. And he blessed her for it. "Ailing physicians are you all," the world often says in satirical jest. Yet, seriously enough, none can heal another without depleting his own privileged *sanitas*. His health must be drained for the blood banks of the world.

On occasion, Jesus sent forth his disciples to heal. Sometimes they came back exultant. "We gave the devils fits," they said one time. "We snapped our fingers and everything worked." Another time, what a difference! "What went wrong," they moaned. "Nothing happened. The devils merely smirked." Jesus replied, "That kind of demon can be exorcised only by prayer and fasting," and, as he commented elsewhere, "by dying oneself into the peoples' life." Expendability is the clue. To reserve oneself is to lose. To invest oneself is to win, forevermore. The Christ would have no part of esoteric practitioners or non-practicing uninvolved physicians. Relaxed Aesculapians were not for him or his. Away with super-sanitary healers. A vast pastoral cure without a care, therapy without curacy. Of course he was equally set against professional hand-holders, the healing clique of unctuous, side-saddle diagnosticians. His art was one of complicated simplicity: the one old cure of heart for heart, diagnosed and prescribed for, afresh, for every man, woman, and child. Small wonder that he felt virtue go out of him, or that his own medicine wore out when he needed it for himself. His death alone could serve for others' life. His rising energized their resurrection. The healing herbs he sowed flowered for all who hurt enough and cared enough to claim the unique cure. How cold the Gospel scalpel to the warm flesh! How frozen in death the spirit, to which the Logos knife comes late!

There is no easy palliative that can parry the intricate paradoxes of the Christian tradition. Yet contradiction there is none for Christ's followers: for those who seek in Him the resolution to the

riddle of Ministerial Primates, the open secret of Stable Wayfarers, the equipoise of Regulated Seculars, the Vicarious Curacy of Ailing Physicians.

There is no history without dynamic tradition, no tradition without unremitting practice, no practice without the nicely judged and discerning application of the critical temper. "For the message of God is a living and active force, sharper than any double-edged sword, piercing through soul and spirit, and joints and marrow, and keen in judging the thoughts and purposes of the mind." The Logos-tempered blade cleaves a straight and narrow wound of life down through the anguished spasms of historic time. Only the practicing confessors of a dynamic tradition dare invite the healing surgery of such an *agapé* knife. God grant that we be, indeed, in the van of the truly critical temper. This instrument, alone, is gospel forged. It permits the ministerial practice of an historically authentic Christian tradition.

Toward the Renewal of Faith and Nurture--III¹

McMURRY S. RICHEY

In a preceding article on H. Shelton Smith's *Faith and Nurture*, we viewed him as a Jeremiah among the progressive religious educators—as a member of their priesthood who had become their prophetic critic, “to pluck up and to break down, to destroy and to overthrow,” but also “to build and to plant.”² While this latter more positive role may not have been evident to those who heard his theological criticisms as the outcries of an apostate, Shelton Smith did insist that his purpose was constructively critical. He was concerned for the salvation of Christian nurture from what he regarded as an outmoded and unrealistic liberal theology and a naturalistic educational philosophy subversive of essential Christian faith. If it was the newer “realistic theology” which afforded the essential Christian perspective for much of his critique, he advocated neither “iconoclastic rejection of religious liberalism” nor uncritical adoption of neo-orthodoxy, but “penetrating and unsparing criticism” of both and willingness to learn from either.³ Both of our preceding articles have exhibited his willingness to continue learning from liberal progressivism, and today Shelton Smith is even more concerned to preserve its gains;⁴ but “unsparing criticism” did predominate in what we have already examined of *Faith and Nurture*. More of this Jeremiah's building and planting and “waymarks” and “guideposts”⁵ for return to Christian nurture may be seen in his develop-

1. This is a third article on the role of H. Shelton Smith in the theological critique, reconstruction, and renewal of Christian nurture. For the preceding articles, see *The Duke Divinity School Bulletin*, XXVIII, No. 2 (May 1963), pp. 127-141, and *The Duke Divinity School Review*, XXIX, No. 2 (Spring 1964), pp. 102-113.

2. Jeremiah 1:10, R.S.V. See my preceding article, pp. 102f.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 103f., and H. Shelton Smith, *Faith and Nurture* (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1941), pp. vii-ix.

4. He lectured several years ago at the University of North Carolina on John Dewey's contributions, and has criticized a “hardened orthodoxy” in certain recent Christian education curricular developments! For his “re-valuation” of George A. Coe's contributions, see his appreciative tribute, “George A. Coe: Revaluer of Values,” *Religion in Life*, XXII, No. 1 (Winter 1952-53), pp. 46-57.

5. Jeremiah 31:21, RSV.

ment of two other themes in this book and in subsequent articles and lectures. These more affirmative statements deal with the doctrine of the person and work of Christ and the doctrine of the Church.

The Supremacy of Christ in Christian Nurture

"Essential to any vital advance in Christian nurture," Shelton Smith affirmed, "is a renewed consciousness of the supremacy of Christ."⁶ This is the fundamental thesis of a chapter of *Faith and Nurture*,⁷ of a symposium article published a year later,⁸ and of one of the lectures in a series given at three theological seminaries in 1942 and 1947.⁹

He was beginning to work out more fully the basic Christological and soteriological interests which were implicit in his theological conversion of 1931 and his "Barthian" article of 1934 and briefly asserted in his provocative addresses of 1936.¹⁰ He had challenged the Religious Education Association by vigorously criticizing Stewart G. Cole's presentation on "The Church and Religious Naturalism" for its rejection of the inherent supernaturalism of Jewish and early Christian thought, for its reduction of Christ to the liberal Jesus of history, and for its dilution of salvation to moralistic humanitarianism. "Professor Cole," he charged, "unreservedly rejects the idea of salvation in terms of transcendent revelation, grace, and deliverance. . . . he repudiates the idea of salvation as Divine deliverance in the medium of Christ. For a gospel of good news in Christ, he substitutes a gospel of good works. . . . Only high religion with a redemptive cross at its center has afforded society its revolutionary gospel," Smith declared.¹¹ To fellow Congregational-Christians in General Council he had proclaimed that "The Christian gospel

6. "The Supremacy of Christ in Christian Nurture," *Religion in Life*, XII, No. 1 (Winter 1942-1943), p. 31.

7. Chapter Four, "Faith in the Divine Initiative," pp. 100-135 of *Faith and Nurture*. Subtopics: "Decadent Evangelism," "Jesus Christ as the Ultimate Meaning of Life," "The Gospel of Repentance," and "The Gospel of Deliverance."

8. The *Religion in Life* article referred to above was one of three on "Issues in Religious Education." William Clayton Bower wrote on "Christian Education after Nineteen Centuries," pp. 41-47; and Henry P. Van Dusen on "Religious Education in Crisis," pp. 48-52.

9. Four lectures on "Faith and Nurture in Contemporary Protestant Thought," presented at Eden Theological Seminary, February 10-12, 1942; at Pacific School of Religion, February 17-19, 1942; and at Austin Presbyterian Seminary, February 3-7, 1947. These are in typescript.

10. See my first article in this series, pp. 103f, 134ff.

11. "Is Religious Naturalism Enough?" *Religious Education*, XXXI, No. 2 (April 1936), pp. 107-109.

is the gospel of salvation only to sinners," a good news of "God's strategy of radical deliverance in the direct action of the Cross."¹²

These ringing declarations, however brief and polemical, presage in several ways Shelton Smith's further and fuller reflections on "the supremacy of Christ in Christian nurture." In the first place, it was to be expected that his Christological and soteriological statements in *Faith and Nurture* and ensuing utterances would still be expressed in critical contrast to what he deplored as the inadequate gospel of liberal nurture. Secondly, and relatedly, his interest in Christology centered more in the authority of revelation than in the nature of the incarnation; that is, more in the assertion of divine initiative in Christ than in the manner or matter of such disclosure. Thirdly, even that interest in the revelation of God in Christ tended to be subsumed under and assimilated to a predominating soteriological interest. If this accorded with his well-known emphasis on the doctrine of man as sinner, it also (surprisingly to some) implied the continuing primacy of nurture over instruction in Shelton Smith's reconception of Christian education, and kept him closer to Bushnell after all than to the new orthodoxy. These three points afford outline for exploration of his more developed statements about the place of Christ in Christian nurture.

(1) The first point is primarily introductory and needs little elaboration. Liberal Protestantism, as Smith saw it, had lost its evangelical power and social dynamic. Liberal educators and churches had followed Horace Bushnell in substituting evangelism through Christian nurture for a sterile revivalism. Smith could approve their reaction against the "excesses and imbecilities," "catastrophic conversion," "religious introversion and unhealthy emotionalism" of a traditional revivalism which "no longer really revived."¹³ But in expecting Christian nurture to "be the means of quickening the evangelical life of the American churches," they had unduly trusted "in the revitalizing power of the child-centered Church" and "the evangelical potency of the educational method."¹⁴ Child-nurture and educational method did contribute to the institutional perpetuation and growth of the churches, but were inadequate for "a new dynamic in the Church which makes it socially effective and world-redemptive, and . . . in radical tension with a secular culture";¹⁵ they did not issue in adult religious vitality or bring

12. "The Gospel for an Age of Good Works," *Advance*, CXXVIII, No. 13 (October 1936), p. 581.

13. *Faith and Nurture*, p. 104.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 101.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 102.

religious revival or serve as the expected "religiously reconstructive force."¹⁶

Yet this did not mean for Shelton Smith the renunciation of Christian nurture: "On the contrary, to the fullest possible extent the Church should share its life and faith with the young. This is a basic and continuing task of the Church. Nevertheless, the Church must not surrender to the illusion that child-nurture, in itself, will rekindle the fire of life and faith in the Christian community."¹⁷ The problem, as he saw it, was not only that too much was expected of nurture; it was, more seriously, that liberal nurture was "feeble because . . . rooted in a sub-Christian gospel. Educational evangelism is largely sterile," he maintained, because it lacked "an adequate evangel."¹⁸ This meant, centrally, an inadequate doctrine of Christ: "for in no respect is progressive nurture more vulnerable than in its doctrine of the person and work of Christ."¹⁹ In book, article, and lecture, Shelton Smith hammered home this point, repeatedly exposing the weakness of liberal progressive views of Jesus in the contrasting light of what he regarded as enduringly indispensable meanings of classical Christian doctrines of Christ.

(2) His concern with the doctrine of the person of Christ (as distinguished from the work of Christ) did not, however, lead him back to the traditional problems of classical Christological or Trinitarian discussions. Closer by now to Tillich than to Barth, he shared with both an emphasis (in this context at least) not so much on the nature or the mode of the incarnation as on the fact of it: not so much on the "whatness" as on the "thatness" of divine initiative in historical disclosure in Jesus Christ. He was interested here primarily in the normativeness of that disclosure, in the ultimacy and authority of the revelation, in the supremacy and finality of Christ in the continuing Christian movement. The governing interest is evident beneath varying nuances of representative passages from the three sources under examination.

Thus Shelton Smith declared in *Faith and Nurture*, "The Christian gospel involves a fundamental faith in respect to the relation of God to human history. . . . the faith that God has revealed in history, in Jesus Christ, the ultimate meaning and destiny of human existence."²⁰ Taking his cue from Paul Tillich, he went on to affirm

16. *Ibid.*, p. 105.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 103.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 105.

19. "The Supremacy of Christ in Christian Nurture," *op. cit.*, p. 33.

20. *Faith and Nurture*, p. 105.

that history was given a religious center in Jesus Christ, in the sense that historical events, both past and future, find their ultimate spiritual significance in and through Christ. The events B.C. and A.D. are intersected by a transempirical "event" that discloses the ultimate religious meaning of historical existence before the end of the empirical time-process. In this sense therefore Christ is the center of history.²¹

It may be worth noting that what here engaged the attention of Smith and Tillich with respect to the incarnation was not the reality or nature or character of God disclosed in Christ but the illumination of human existence. It was not so much the person of Christ as the work of Christ that concerned them; Christology was being assimilated to soteriology.

The comparable key statement in Smith's lecture to the theological seminaries on "The Place of Christ in Christian Nurture" similarly emphasized the normative meaning of Jesus Christ for Christian understanding of historical existence (this time with acknowledgment of another mentor):

. . . Christianity is an historical religion in the sense that its Founder, Jesus of Nazareth, was a real historical figure. Let us recognize, however, that he is historical in yet another sense. For Christian faith, Jesus Christ is the permanent historical center of the Christian movement in the sense that in Him God validly disclosed the ultimate meaning of human existence once for all. He is that special revelatory event within the Christian community which serves as the unsurpassed norm of the true spiritual meaning of all human events. It is this event, as Professor Richard Niebuhr says, "which makes all other events intelligible" to the Christian consciousness.²²

However, a pivotal declaration in his article on "The Supremacy of Christ in Christian Nurture" did express, in broader statement and different idiom more redolent of traditional Christological discussion, a fundamental interest also in the person of Christ for what he revealed of the nature of God, as well as the destiny of man:

Jesus Christ, says the classical tradition of the Church, is both the historic founder and the abiding norm of the Christian movement. That affirmation rests on the faith—which is substantiated by almost twenty centuries of experience—that in Christ God has already supremely un-

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 105f. He cited Paul Tillich's essay on "The Kingdom of God and History," in the Oxford Conference volume, *The Kingdom of God and History* (Willett, Clark, 1938), p. 119. Shelton Smith avidly read the Oxford Conference literature and sent his students to it. Moreover, he has long been a friend and appreciative interpreter of Tillich, and later instituted a seminar on Tillich's theology.

22. From the unpublished typescript of Lecture Three, "The Place of Christ in Christian Nurture," pp. 5f. The reference was to H. Richard Niebuhr, *The Meaning of Revelation* (The Macmillan Company, 1941), p. 93.

veiled His innermost nature. As a result of that divine self-manifestation, the Christian community believes that it now beholds in the face of Jesus Christ both the true nature of God and the true destiny of man.²³

Even here, nevertheless, Smith's central interest in the doctrine of the person of Christ, or the incarnation, was manifestly in the ultimacy and authority of revelation.

This main point was made in vigorous polemic against what he perceived as the relativizing and repudiation of revelational theology by liberal religious educators, especially by the more extreme progressives. The problem was not merely that religious education had grown up with the liberal attenuation of classical views of revelation. It was rather that progressive philosophy of nurture was in "basic conflict" with the view that "in Jesus Christ God disclosed the ultimate meaning of existence."²⁴ The conflict was rooted in the progressive assumption that all "revelations" were relative to their times, and that any ultimate meanings of existence were to be sought in the emerging future rather than the past.

This relativistic idea of revelation is the main root of the progressive's opposition to what he dubs "supernaturalism," "authoritarianism," and the like. To him those terms involve, among other things, a belief in a prior disclosure of some truth or value which is subsequently taken to possess a normative character in Christian nurture; and any such belief is in conflict with his own doctrine. Thus he repudiates absolutes, and founds his faith upon what he calls "emerging values."²⁵

Thus William Clayton Bower could say that it "'is a naive illusion to suppose that ideas, values, . . . which functioned in a past period of culture, will or can function in the contemporary scene.'"²⁶ Smith saw in this "exaggerated emphasis" on the present and future, with its subordination of the past, a tendency which he caricatured in terms of its logical outcome: "The most one might say of Jesus, on this basis, is that his ideas and values are an historical exhibit of what modern Christians need not take seriously."²⁷ To be sure, "the progressive is loath to accept the full consequences of such a position; and therefore he continues to profess devotion to the ethical teachings of Jesus, or at least to the spirit of quest as exhibited in Jesus";²⁸ but for Smith this was not enough for signifi-

23. "The Supremacy of Christ in Christian Nurture," *op. cit.*, p. 34.

24. *Faith and Nurture*, p. 107.

25. "The Supremacy of Christ in Christian Nurture," *op. cit.*, p. 34.

26. *Faith and Nurture*, p. 107, and Bower, "The Challenge of Reaction to Liberal Thought," *Religious Education*, XXXII (1937), p. 120.

27. *Faith and Nurture*, p. 107.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 108.

cant Christian nurture. "No realistic individual," he declared, "can truly doubt that Jesus Christ is ultimately valid and at the same time make a decisive self-commitment to Him."²⁹

The conflict between such a view of the supremacy of Jesus Christ and progressive nurture was variously evident also in the educational method of the latter. If the progressives could use epithets like "authoritarian," "supernaturalist," and "traditionalism," Smith could hoist progressive religious education on its own ideological banners and watchwords. Thus he lifted up its assumption that reality is in process of continuous change, its emphasis on the method of experimental quest, its pragmatic concern with method of inquiry rather than formulation of truth, its anti-historical bias, its rejection of content-teaching, its principle of tentativeness, its neglect of past religious insights in favor of the process of remaking all insights.³⁰ "Vital Christian nurture is rooted in a faith that cannot accept this provisional temper and process of experimentalism," he strongly objected. "Christian nurture presupposes a faith that goes deeper than mere faith in 'growing values.' . . . The Christian teacher . . . does not share his faith in Christ with the child in a spirit of absolute tentativeness, but in the conviction that in Christ God has spoken an eternally valid word to humanity."³¹

Up to this point we have noticed Shelton Smith's interest in Christology primarily for its theme of the ultimacy and authority of divine disclosure in Jesus Christ, and, in this regard, his concern more with the "that" than with the "what" of this supreme revelation. If he did not rehearse the traditional meanings of the Godhead revealed in the God-man, neither was he reduced to liberal absorption with the domesticated personality of Jesus the good man and wise teacher. Yet it is instructive to note that his turn toward neo-orthodoxy's Christ of faith had not meant renunciation of the Jesus of history. In his early "Barthian" article he had applauded Barth's powerful reaffirmation of the centrality of Christ, but not without reservations: if the humanity of Jesus was not revelatory, he protested, but only Christ the Word given to faith, the historical Jesus might be reduced to "a mere ghostly appearance"; whereas Smith was concerned for more, rather than less, knowledge about the Jesus of history.³² His 1942 lectures to the seminaries still voiced

29. "The Supremacy of Christ in Christian Nurture," *op. cit.*, p. 36.

30. These are expressions, some verbatim, gathered from *Faith and Nurture*, pp. 108-111.

31. *Ibid.*, pp. 113, 114.

32. "Let Religious Educators Reckon with Barthians," *Religious Education*, XXIX, No. 1 (January, 1934), p. 50.

such misgivings over the newer theological tendency "that really minimizes the value of the historic Jesus and puts its main emphasis on the Christ of faith."³³ Granting that it did "not deny that Jesus was a real historical character," and granting that the more radical New Testament criticism had so reduced the picture of Jesus as to foster such reaction, Smith warned against the "danger of obscuring the character of Christianity as an historical and ethical faith." "The Gospels," he maintained, "aim to tell us what happened in history, not less than to explain the ultimate meaning of historical events. If they fail to give us all that we should like to know about Jesus of Nazareth, yet what they do give is of the greatest importance to the Christian educator. A faith that is historically rootless is not Christian faith."³⁴ He was dissatisfied with the historical skepticism of both the new theology and the older criticism that had left progressive nurture's historical Jesus "too meager a person of Christian nurture."³⁵

The Gospel of Repentance and Deliverance

(3) Yet Shelton Smith's fundamental concern both for knowledge of the Jesus of history and for acknowledgment of the finality of divine disclosure in Christ was manifestly more distinctively soteriological than primarily Christological. What made revelation, and incarnation, significant and essential was the saving mission of Jesus Christ for sinful man. It was in this connection that Shelton Smith gave most attention to what Jesus said and did as well as to the divine authority of that message and ministry. If these truisms do not surprise us, they do remind us of his loyal though liberal stance within the Reformation and neo-Reformation traditions, for there his mentors old and new likewise both exalted the incarnation and subsumed it under reconciliation and redemption. This crucial aspect of his thought will be evident as we examine his affirmations of theological correctives for a more Christian nurture.

The two main themes of this corrective were enunciated in his article on "The Supremacy of Christ" as he identified the failure of progressive religious education "to recognize the decisive mission of Christ both in uncovering the nature of man's ultimate problem and in mediating to him the resources of the divine mercy."³⁶ He dealt with the same themes in somewhat different terms in both of

33. Lecture Three, "The Place of Christ in Christian Nurture," p. 2 (from the unpublished typescript).

34. *Ibid.*, pp. 2f.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

36. "The Supremacy of Christ in Christian Nurture," *op. cit.*, p. 36.

the other writings: "The Gospel of Repentance" and "The Gospel of Deliverance" in *Faith and Nurture*,³⁷ and with "Jesus Christ: Mediator of the Judgment of the Kingdom" and "Jesus Christ: Mediator of the Grace of the Kingdom" in Lecture Three to the seminaries.³⁸ A brief study will show what he made of these complementary themes and how he found religious education doctrinally deficient.

(a) The charge that progressive nurture had failed "to recognize the decisive mission of Christ . . . in uncovering the nature of man's problem" referred, of course, to Jesus Christ's exposure of man's sin and need to repent to enter the Kingdom of God. This was an enduring theme for Shelton Smith, from his "Barthian" protest through his characteristic "O wretched man that I am" classroom exclamations in the later 1930's into the culminating study of *Changing Conceptions of Original Sin* (1955).³⁹ But this continuing emphasis was not, as some have misunderstood or even caricatured Smith's and neo-Reformation theology, an obsession with "man as sinner"; rather, as the present context shows, it was a more inclusive concern for realistic recognition of man's condition in order to his salvation, and therefore with the work of Jesus Christ in both this radical diagnosis and efficacious therapy. And here, it may be seen, the formal authority of Christ already discussed began to take on the material content of historical word and deed.

A principal point of tension between progressive religious education and Christian faith, as Smith saw it, was "the nature of the demand that the Christian gospel makes upon the human subject of redemption."⁴⁰ That demand he found articulated when Jesus came preaching, "Repent ye; for the kingdom of heaven is at hand."⁴¹ "In Jesus' call to repentance," he declared, "there is a basic pre-

37. *Faith and Nurture*, pp. 115-124 and 124-135.

38. Lecture Three, "The Place of Christ in Christian Nurture," pp. 15-22 and 22-29.

39. *Changing Conceptions of Original Sin: A Study in American Theology Since 1750* (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1955), a careful examination of early colonial orthodoxy as to the doctrine of sin, of its modification and virtual rejection in liberal theology, and of its revival and revision in recent thought. The judgment may be ventured that Shelton Smith buried his anthropological interest in that volume, and turned with the times to other theological themes and especially to his already strong concerns for racial justice and an inclusive Church. Moreover, his presidencies of the American Church History Society and the American Theological Society, and his massive editorial work (with Robert T. Handy and Lefferts A. Loetscher) on the two volumes of *American Christianity* (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1960, 1963), must have demanded and stimulated his increasingly diverse theological and historical interests.

40. *Faith and Nurture*, p. 115.

41. Matthew 4:17.

supposition . . . that human existence is in contradiction with the Kingdom of God, and therefore stands under judgment of the Kingdom. In this is also signified the fact that man does not, in his 'fallen' condition, belong to the Kingdom. The gospel thus confronts man with a radical imperative only because man does not really stand on the inner circle of the Kingdom."⁴² This meant that man must repent, and must be convicted of the need to repent, and must be won to the will to repent. How could this be effected?

Smith ascribed the radical totality and ultimate validity of this stark claim to Jesus' own insight into the "absolute holiness of God": His conviction of the absolute necessity for repentance grew out of His clear perception of the nature of God. Being deeply aware of the absolute holiness of God, Jesus saw that no man was truly good. . . . According to the Sermon on the Mount, one must be free from all anxiety, be absolutely pure, forgive without limit, and love God with the whole heart, or else one could have no fellowship with God in His Kingdom. These absolutes derived their validity, not, as some have claimed, from their interim nature, but from the fact of their belonging to an eternal order of righteousness.⁴³

But it was not simply the authority of Jesus' insight and teaching that was needed to lead men through repentance to the Kingdom; it was his own personal embodiment of it in history, and an embodiment men could know to be the Kingdom in their midst:

The call to repentance is set in a rigorous context not merely by Jesus' formal declaration of the absolute nature of the Kingdom of God, but more especially by his own personal demonstration of its quality on the historical plane. He not only spoke with an authority that was strikingly different from that of the scribes and the Pharisees; He actually exhibited in his daily life such qualities of love and mercy, of good-will and compassion, that one in closest company with him in all sorts of situations, is reported as saying: "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God."⁴⁴

Thus Jesus' very life brought to men the righteousness of the Kingdom in a sense that his mere words could never have done. He thus sharpened the call to repentance by living out the character of the Kingdom on the plane of history. . . . As men witnessed the extraordinary power of the Kingdom as demonstrated in Jesus of Nazareth, they were profoundly convicted of sin and of their need of repentance.⁴⁵

Here, then, Shelton Smith was fleshing out his more formal Christological utterances with historical content of the saving ac-

42. *Faith and Nurture*, p. 116.

43. "The Supremacy of Christ in Christian Nurture," *op. cit.*, pp. 36f.

44. Lecture Three, "The Place of Christ in Christian Nurture," pp. 17-18

45. *Ibid.*, pp. 18, 19.

tivity of Jesus Christ as human spokesman and embodiment of the divine judgment and call to repentance (and, as we shall discuss presently, of divine grace and deliverance). The incarnation, as revelation of God's nature and man's destiny, could thus better be understood in terms of the authority and power of God effectually working in the message and ministry of Jesus of Nazareth. It would be interesting, though difficult, to disentangle the not quite harmonious strands of Smith's theological affinities with Barth and Brunner, and with Tillich, on the one hand, and with moderate British New Testament interpretation, like C. H. Dodd's, on the other hand; but the analyst might also look back of Smith's own approach to Chalcedon for the influences of his American social gospel heritage, of his colleague Albert C. Outler, and especially of Horace Bushnell's long struggle with the meaning of "Christ and his salvation."⁴⁶

Yet it was a liberal religious education indebted to Bushnell's *Christian Nurture* that Smith brought under critical scrutiny in light of these views of Jesus Christ as expositor of sin and summoner to repentance. In reaction against a sterile revivalism that depended excessively on late emotional conversions for initiation of Christian life, Bushnell had advocated that a child be so nurtured, by virtue of regenerative grace operative through the organic unity of the family, that he would grow up a Christian and never know himself as otherwise. As Smith could show, there was a residual realism in Bushnell's acknowledgment of human depravity, and in his profound concern with man's need for Christ's atonement; but more sanguine twentieth-century disciples like George A. Coe and George H. Betts extended one side of Bushnell's thought into a view of the child as naturally a member of the Kingdom of God and due for normal development in goodness.⁴⁷

For liberal religious nurture in effect presupposes that when man emerges in his empirical existence he is already a member of the Kingdom of God, and needs only more growth from within it. Thus the primary task of Christian nurture in this view is to preserve the child's membership in the Kingdom, rather than to awaken in him the consciousness of the need of repentance as a condition of entrance into it.⁴⁸

46. See *Faith and Nurture*, pp. 21-24, 116-122; also Smith, *et al.*, *American Christianity: An Historical Interpretation with Representative Documents*, Volume II, Chapter XVII, "The Christocentric Liberal Tradition," especially pp. 260-264, 270-275; and Shelton Smith's forthcoming volume in the Library of Protestant Thought series on *Horace Bushnell*, to be published soon by the Oxford University Press.

47. *Faith and Nurture*, pp. 116-122.

48. *Ibid.*, p. 116.

“Liberal nurture’s tendency to educate the child in the consciousness of being Christian,” Smith wryly remarked, “is not calculated to cultivate in man the disposition to admit his sickness.”⁴⁹ Nor was progressive religious education disposed to take seriously the realistic theologians’ revival of the doctrine of sin.⁵⁰

(b) A progressive nurture indisposed to acknowledge sin and judgment would then also fail to recognize the saving mission of Christ in mediating to man “the resources of the divine mercy.”⁵¹ But, as Shelton Smith eloquently put it in his lecture, “This is where Jesus Christ emerges in His supreme role. For in Christ the Kingdom of Judgment is transmuted into the Kingdom of Mercy. The Word of wrath is swallowed up in the Word of grace.”⁵² For authority on this other neglected theme Smith returned to his gospel text and cited Jesus’ preaching of the divine deliverance “at hand” for those who respond to God in repentance and faith. Such deliverance, it seemed necessary to stress, was “recognized as the act of God,” “a gift of God”; it was “a promise of deliverance from sin by a power greater than ourselves”; the Lord’s Prayer echoed this “‘fundamental fact that the Kingdom is God’s, and that human entrance into it is possible only through the divine deliverance.”⁵³ Moreover, this “emphasis upon God as deliverer from sin and evil

49. *Ibid.*, p. 124.

50. “The Supremacy of Christ in Christian Nurture,” *op. cit.*, p. 37. Smith could sympathize with some of the progressive reactions against indiscriminate application of the idea of sin in neo-orthodoxy. “But the thing that impresses me most about the progressive in this connection,” he countered, “is that his own constructive doctrine reveals so little appreciation of sin in any of its profounder dimensions. He speaks often enough of social tensions and of ‘undesirable tendencies’; nevertheless, in his analysis of them—both in respect of source and of ultimate meaning—he moves almost entirely on the empirical plane. Assuming as he does that the self is social in origin, he is usually inclined to locate the decisive root of human tensions in the social matrix in which the self emerges. Though he says that human nature at birth has potentialities for both good and evil, yet there is always the strong implication that if the undesirable historic behavior patterns of our civilization could be extracted, the basic source of the evil in man would also be eliminated. Thus what purports to be a realistic assessment of the human predicament really amounts to a romantic one” (*ibid.*, p. 38).

51. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

52. Lecture Three, “The Place of Christ in Christian Nurture,” p. 23.

53. *Faith and Nurture*, pp. 124f. If these arguments seem gratuitous in our theological day, when the Biblically minded would hardly be caught dead “building the kingdom,” and the holy worldlings would hardly thing of justifying a new “secular” autonomy with “teachings of Jesus” about the kingdom, we need but recall how seriously the liberal social gospel era represented its anthropocentric kingdom in terms of Jesus’ teachings, and how it distinguished sharply between the Jesus of the Synoptic Gospels and the theologizing of Paul!

is continued in Paul's teaching," Smith went on to show (and marshalled current New Testament scholarship to vindicate, against earlier liberal denigration of Paul's "theologizing," an essential continuity between Synoptic and Pauline teaching about Christ). He found beneath the Pauline metaphors of reconciliation, justification, adoption, and redemption "the presupposition that it is God, not man, who redeems human existence from its thralldom and meaninglessness."⁵⁴

Liberal nurture, of course, saw little need of such a gospel. It shared the faith of modern culture in man's "self-emancipating capacity."⁵⁵ Whatever deliverance man needed was to be sought in "creative thinking" and "creative loving"—in Coe's "salvation by education," in the appeal of a rational faith for a scientific age, in the efficacy of "creative intelligence" for personal problems and social injustices, in the human initiative of "creative quest" for higher values, in the law of love exemplified in Jesus for the building or bringing in of the Kingdom of God.⁵⁶

It is highly significant for Shelton Smith's views of faith and nurture that in criticizing such rationalistic and moralistic "redemptive" strategies he was concerned not to disparage reason but to see its proper service. He was not sympathetic with the "tendency in certain quarters to retreat into a misty irrationalism, mistakenly called 'faith.'"⁵⁷ Revelation itself required the response of human intelligence. So also did personal and social reconstruction: "Reason may . . . not only establish a social norm of existence that transcends the impulses of mere self-survival, but it may both reveal and criticize the motives, pretensions, and perspectives of those who thwart life in its more universal dimensions."⁵⁸ But reason was not enough to resolve the "tensions between egoistic impulse and social community"; it could not "provide the dynamic of redemption" to enable man to do what reason itself showed good. Like the Paul of Romans 7:23ff. (a favorite text for Smith in those days), man was too much under the dominion of the law of sin to serve the law of his mind. Intelligence was not enough. He needed divine deliverance.⁵⁹

It is significant, again, for Shelton Smith's view of Christian nurture, that he regarded this "theocentric deliverance" as a real or

54. *Ibid.*, pp. 125f.

55. *Ibid.*, pp. 126f.

56. *Ibid.*, pp. 127-132; and "The Supremacy of Christ in Christian Nurture," *op. cit.*, pp. 38f.

57. *Ibid.*

58. *Faith and Nurture*, p. 131.

59. *Ibid.*, pp. 131f.

“dynamic” salvation (to borrow David Roberts’ term connoting experienced inner change) rather than a “static” salvation defined primarily in terms of divine forgiveness or a change of man’s sinful status before God (as Roberts and others interpreted the Barthian revival of Reformation soteriology).⁶⁰ This accords with our judgment that, for all of Smith’s stress on the sinfulness of man, he presupposed much more of a continuing basis in human nature for Christian nurture than the defensive progressives and liberals perceived in the theological anthropology of Barth and neo-orthodoxy generally. To be sure, it was a human nature in need of change, but change was possible even if never complete. Moreover, with such recognition of both the need and the possibility of change, and of the meaning of the incarnation primarily in terms of soteriology, and of the value but dynamic limitations of human reason, we would expect Shelton Smith to insist on a reconstruction of Christian education that gave priority to nurture over instruction; that is, a theologically corrected Christian nurture centering in relationships with God and man through Church and family, and the dynamic activity of God through such relationships, rather than in a content-centered curriculum heavy with even the best of Biblical and doctrinal material. Here he would be closer to Bushnell than to neo-orthodoxy after all. Indeed, such has been the tenor of his critical reactions to certain recent theological reconstructions of denominational curricular philosophies and materials.

It is significant also, in these connections, that Shelton Smith again drew back, as he had before, from “the Barthian version of current theology” where it implied “a too complete denial of the place of human action in Christian salvation. Implicit in all forms of unqualified divine sovereignty,” he warned, “is the danger that man will be regarded as a too passive factor in divine-human relations.” He could not accept Kierkegaard’s “radical disjunction between God and man” which “lies at the root of Barth’s theology.”⁶¹ Instead, he cited with approval “an important element of correction”

60. See David E. Roberts, *Psychotherapy and a Christian View of Man* (Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1950), Chapters 8 and 9. It is tempting to link Shelton Smith’s soteriology with John Wesley’s, particularly where Wesley sees the repentant man through his conflict of law and sin to a salvation not only from the guilt of sin (justification) but also from the power of sin (regeneration, sanctification). See, for example, Wesley’s sermon on “The Scripture Way of Salvation,” in *Wesley’s Standard Sermons*, ed. Edward H. Sugden (The Epworth Press, 1921), Vol. II, pp. 444ff. However, Shelton Smith would probably prefer the New England theological pedigree with a Bushnellian revision.

61. *Faith and Nurture*, pp. 133f. He was obviously still thinking of the “early Barth,” as were those who labelled Shelton Smith himself as “Barthian.”

in the similarly Calvinistic New England theology: the idea of covenant, which "acknowledges that God is sovereign in His Kingdom, yet it denies that God is 'wholly other' in His relation to His creatures. Implicit in the idea of covenant," he concluded, "is the assumption that man has a responsible part to play both in entering upon, and in preserving, the covenant relation."⁶² Shelton Smith had once again corrected his theological bearings from his own recovered early American theological tradition in preference to the word of Karl Barth.⁶³ But both had spoken to him of the saving grace of God in Jesus Christ.

The Church: Community of Christian Nurture

This former student of Shelton Smith's can vividly remember going to his office one day during the academic year 1938-39 and discovering his professor transported with theological excitement over the doctrine of the Church. This new enthusiasm seemed strange at the time, especially because Professor Smith's courses had not prepared the student to anticipate or respond to this doctrinal con-

62. *Ibid.*, p. 134.

63. Throughout these studies of Shelton Smith's contributions "Toward the Renewal of Faith and Nurture" we have found his responsiveness to Barth and Brunner strongly tempered by preference for characteristic American theological positions, with a manifest continuing tension in his thought between liberal and orthodox interests, from the time of Jonathan Mayhew and Jonathan Edwards of the colonial period into the evangelical liberalism, social gospel thought, and American "realistic" theology of the present century. (See my first article, *op cit.*, especially pp. 136-141.)

It is surprising therefore to find a new book in Christian education (Gerald H. Slusser *The Local Church in Transition: Theology, Education, and Ministry* [The Westminster Press, 1964], pp. 54f.) loosely misinterpreting and quickly dismissing Smith's volume as "widely acclaimed . . . mostly because it was under the complete dominance of crisis theology." "Viewed from the vantage-point of post-Bultmannian knowledge of theology," the author continues, "Smith's book seems little more than a simple repetition of Brunner's theology. . . . Smith . . . set up straw men and proceeded to knock them down with borrowed theology. . . . Smith did not deal with the strongest points of religious education and its best defenders, but attacked its obvious errors and caricatured the movement as a whole." Moreover, the author takes Smith to task for ignoring the major point of Harrison S. Elliott's *Can Religious Education Be Christian?* (1940), a defense of progressive religious education against neo-orthodox theology.

As for this last point, the author must not have known that *Faith and Nurture* was being readied for the press when Elliott's book was published and therefore could take only marginal notice of the latter. The two books do significantly join the main issues, although neither was written in response to the other.

It is hardly necessary to defend Shelton Smith against the other indiscriminating criticisms. Obviously the author neither probed the real meaning of Smith's theology nor understood his concern to preserve solid gains of religious education while correcting weaknesses.

cern. But even for an uncomprehending student there was no doubting the fresh and compelling interest. There on his desk was R. Newton Flew's new book, *Jesus and His Church*;⁶⁴ and all around there seemed to be a cloud of witnesses to the Edinburgh and Oxford and Madras Conferences and their ecclesiological discussions. We must recover the doctrine of the Church, Shelton Smith was insisting, as if bearing witness to a late conversion from his own sectarian tradition toward an ecumenical ecclesiology, a theological development almost as significant as his earlier swing from Dewey toward (not to!) Barth.

It was not that this new concern negated—rather it reconceived and fulfilled—his earlier work and thought in relation to the churches. Although from a denomination which lacked the organic character or connectionalism or sacramentalism of some other communions, he had long since transcended denominationalism—in war-time Y.M.C.A. work overseas, in progressive educational ideology, in interdenominational service on the staff of the International Council of Religious Education. This kind of ecumenical concern came to noteworthy fruition in his key leadership in the origin and development of the North Carolina Council of Churches. But this older interdenominationalism, and Shelton Smith as a vigorous exponent of it, lacked the high sense of the Church which was emerging in the theologies of ecumenical discussion.

He began to write into his much-revised and re-thought manuscript for *Faith and Nurture* this strong new concern for a more adequate theological understanding of the Church, and in this context, of the Church as the community of Christian nurture. The book embodied his first substantial treatment of the theme; the preceding articles reveal little basis for anticipating its development. Thus when he found liberal and progressive religious education wanting in respect to the doctrine of the Church, he was indirectly confessing his own omission in his earlier critiques and his earlier theological work generally; indeed, he could acknowledge that religious education was not “essentially different from other aspects of American Christianity” in this neglect.⁶⁵ He might well have included also the history of American thought which he had explored without being awakened to such an interest. But now it had become a major theological category for his rethinking of Christian nurture, to be dealt with again in his later lectures to the seminaries, and to

64. Published in 1938 by the Epworth Press, London.

65. *Faith and Nurture*, p. 139.

serve as the theme for an entire series of nine lectures to the Presbyterian Assembly's Training School in Richmond, in 1954.⁶⁶

(1) Before examining his treatment of the Church in *Faith and Nurture*, we may venture several generalizations about it. (a) It is his most positive, constructive offering in the book as well as in his other discussions of Christian education; there is less of criticism and more of theological position. It is not uncommon for students reviewing his book today to single out this chapter as the most significant for them.

(b) It is almost a self-contained essay, least integral to his book and critique while repeating in different form much of his essential message (as many ecclesiological statements do). An important inclusion is his characteristically strong social ethic of the Christian community.

(c) There is also least reference here to the earlier history of American Christianity, and quite understandably, since it was not just religious education but American thought generally that suffered poverty of understanding of the Church and therefore afforded little historical corrective for liberal and progressive failings.

(d) There are two notable deficiencies in his ecclesiology of Christian nurture (if we may judge with hindsight of a quarter-century and more recent theological reconceptions of Christian education), namely, the Holy Spirit and the Sacraments! The scant attention to the meaning of the Holy Spirit⁶⁷ in the life of the Church is especially noticeable in view of his reiteration here of the doctrine of Christ as "the Mediator through whom God redeems men and unites them to Himself as a Christian community,"⁶⁸ which might well have been developed into a full-blown Trinitarian doctrine of the Church. But Shelton Smith may still have been too close to the early Barthian and other neo-orthodox reaction against immanentist theology to realize how dependent Christian nurture is on the Holy Spirit.

(e) As for the Sacraments, omitted from consideration in *Faith and Nurture*, it is instructive to note that his lectures thirteen years later in Richmond did stress baptism as sign and seal of the covenant within which nurture proceeds, and the Lord's Supper as means of

66. "Christian Faith and Its Communication," the unpublished typescript consisting of "condensed notes" for Professor Smith's August 2-12, 1954 lectures, available in his personal files.

67. The Holy Spirit was mentioned briefly, but the doctrine not developed, on pp. 142, 144, and 146 of *Faith and Nurture*.

68. *Ibid.*, p. 167.

grace and nurture.⁶⁹ That same year, too—remembering or forgetting his own earlier omission?—he remarked critically the failure of an important new book in Christian education to take into account the place of the Sacraments in Christian nurture!⁷⁰

(2) In *Faith and Nurture* he intended neither historical nor comprehensive interpretation of the Church but emphasis on aspects of the doctrine neglected in religious educational theory.⁷¹ This neglect and even unconcern on the part of religious educators could be attributed, he suggested, to such factors as the relative autonomy of the Sunday school, to the influence of secular educational theory, to liberal concern with the Kingdom of God in contradistinction to the Church, to pre-occupation with “religion” or “religious experience” rather than the merely instrumental religious institution, and to the pervasive influence of sect-type Protestant emphasis on experimental religion and the voluntary fellowship.⁷² While Smith could acknowledge that American Protestantism generally shared with liberal nurture this ecclesiological deficiency, he could now hail a “rising tide of interest” in the doctrine of the Church but at the same time lament the unresponsiveness and even resistance of some religious educators.⁷³ He was concerned that Christian educators see the Church as a distinctive community of Christian nurture: as (a) the “community of the divine initiative,” (b) the “community of the ultimate fulfilment of life,” (c) “the Christian center of community,” and (d) the “community of divine mediation.”⁷⁴ A brief notice of each of these themes, some already developed in other parts of his book, will sum up his teaching.

(a) He began with a characteristic theocentric perspective on the Church as the “community of the divine initiative”:

. . . the Church claims to be a distinctive community in respect of its origin. It is the Christian faith that the Church emerged in history, not through the anticipation of man but through the antecedent determination of God. It believes itself to have come into being through the

69. Lectures Seven and Eight, “Christian Faith and Its Communication,” *op. cit.*, pp. 27ff. and 32ff.

70. In a review of James D. Smart, *The Teaching Ministry of the Church* (The Westminster Press, 1954), published in *The Westminster Bookman*.

71. *Faith and Nurture*, pp. 140f.

72. *Ibid.*, pp. 136-139.

73. *Ibid.*, pp. 139f.: Some perceived in this new doctrinal interest “a subtle method to enslave religion in a new form of authoritarianism; some . . . a mode of ecclesiastical introversion; and others . . . a sign of escape from the realities of the current social crisis.”

74. From chapter subtitles, *ibid.*, pp. 141, 146, 151, 166.

creative act of the Divine Initiative, as manifested in the Word made flesh in Jesus Christ.⁷⁵

Echoing Edinburgh here, he proceeded with current theology and historical scholarship to affirm that Jesus was, if not formally and consciously, at least essentially, the founder of the Church:

(Jesus) became the center of a community which in essence constituted the Church. The immediate fruit of Jesus' ministry was neither a New Testament nor a formal institution. It was, rather, a dynamic fellowship whose creative center was God as incarnated in Christ. This fellowship underwent a process of growth in its understanding of Jesus Christ, and also in its apprehension of its nature and mission under Christ's leadership.⁷⁶

This early Christian community was conscious of "its religious continuity . . . with the Old Israel," but also increasingly aware of being "a New Israel" with "the ardent faith that the promised Messiah had already entered history in the person of Jesus Christ, and that this same Christ would also shortly return to consummate the Kingdom of God."⁷⁷ This New Israel, however, had "a growing assurance that God through Christ had offered mankind a new center of fellowship," and its dynamic was "the Holy Spirit, which the early Christians recognized as the gracious gift of God."⁷⁸

These quotations representing Shelton Smith's new understanding of the Church in terms of the divine initiative could be sharply contrasted with left-wing liberal reduction of the Church to "an emergent of the social process."⁷⁹ Yet his criticism was tempered here with appreciation of truth in such perspectives of the social sciences, in which his own earlier thought had been rooted. He acknowledged that "the Church as a reality of history emerges within the social matrix and mediates its message through existing patterns of human culture . . . the relative forms of imperfect society. Only thus in fact would Christian nurture be at all possible."⁸⁰ Indeed, without such empirical understanding Christian nurture was in danger of "dogmatism and obscurantism." But with this social character, the "supra-social" origin of the Christian fellowship must also be recog-

75. *Ibid.*, p. 141. This section is sprinkled with references to the literature of the Edinburgh Conference on Faith and Order and to other current studies of the beginnings of the Church.

76. *Ibid.*, p. 142.

77. *Ibid.*, p. 143.

78. *Ibid.*, p. 144.

79. *Ibid.*

80. *Ibid.*, p. 145.

nized (as in this significant but uncommon word of Smith about the Holy Spirit) :

The Church is, for faith, the unique creation of God in Christ and in the Holy Spirit. This is the basis for being a true *koinonia*, a true community of the Spirit. Human creatures are bound together in Christian fellowship, but the uniting bond of that fellowship is God-given. Human creatures experience fellowship with one another in the Spirit, but they do not create the Spirit. Human culture fashions the forms through which the Christian fellowship nurtures human creatures, but culture does not generate the living reality that sustains the forms.⁸¹

Here, if only it could have been developed, was a promise of rapprochement between the nurture well founded in the social sciences and the new theology corrected by a more meaningful doctrine of the Spirit.

(b) The Church is also the "community of ultimate fulfilment of life." With this theme Smith could develop for ecclesiology the basic positions on eschatology and ethics of his second chapter, "Beyond the Social-Gospel Idea of the Kingdom of God."⁸² He related this second point closely to the first:

As the Church is a community whose creative source transcends the empirical world-process, so the Church is a community whose ultimate fulfilment points beyond the plane of historical existence. If the Church has its ultimate origin in the Kingdom of God, it has also its ultimate consummation only in the Kingdom of God. . . . the Kingdom is the normative reality of the Church and of Christian nurture. . . . the historical Church is in disparity with the Kingdom, and therefore is under its judgment.⁸³

The Christian community remains always of "contradictory or ambivalent character"; the Body of Christ "knows itself to be a very imperfect body"; the Church has always fallen short of "the perfection of the Kingdom"; and both historical experience and theological realism warn against any hope that the Church can "nurture human life into absolute fulfilment of Christian fellowship on the plane of historical existence."⁸⁴ Here Smith did not need to review at length his earlier indictments of liberal evolutionary optimism over progressive "social realization of the Kingdom."⁸⁵ He was more immediately exercised over the opposite theological perversion, whether in the defense of slavery in the Old South or in the political

81. *Ibid.*, p. 146.

82. *Ibid.*, pp. 33-66, especially pp. 54ff. and 61ff.

83. *Ibid.*, pp. 146f.

84. *Ibid.*, pp. 147-149. Here he cited the support of Reinhold Niebuhr, C. H. Dodd, and other spokesmen of "current religious thought."

85. *Ibid.*, p. 148.

docility of German Christians speaking at Madras, which “in effect sanctions the existing structure of society in the name of an absolutely transcendent Kingdom of God.”⁸⁶ In a key paragraph Shelton Smith declared his own position as to what it means to acknowledge the Kingdom of God as “the normative reality of the Church and of Christian nurture”.⁸⁷

A realistic Christian nurture, then, is not at liberty to dissolve the ethical tension that exists between the Church and the Kingdom of God, either by way of an optimistic liberalism that tends to equate the Kingdom with an ideal social community, or by way of a pessimistic dualism that transfers the realm of the Kingdom to a world totally outside the process of human history. The world of social history is neither a demonic vacuum nor is it the plane on which perfection of fellowship is achieved. The Church is a community that nurtures mankind in the faith that even though perfect fellowship may not be realized on the plane of human history, yet history is the scene in which the Kingdom is at work among men, and may be indefinitely approximated. The Church is also a community that lives in the faith that ultimate fulfilment of life in the Kingdom of God is assured.⁸⁸

(c) From this position, as foundational for his Christian ethics as for Christian nurture, he proceeded to develop under his next point on “the Christian center of community” what was essentially a critical social ethic. Here he could pour forth the concerns and materials of years of courses (and action!) in Christian ethics. In some ways this development is not integral to *Faith and Nurture*: it is minimally doctrinal, deals with nurture only secondarily, and though trenchantly critical of Church and culture, contains no word of polemic against progressive religious education or liberal theology; indeed, it even makes approving use of two of George A. Coe’s books and echoes liberal ethics—though with a crucially different norm of community in Christ. In another way it is theologically salutary that this book on the Christian faith and Christian nurture provided the context of an emerging doctrine of the Church, and that this ecclesiology was the context of a social ethic (albeit hardly integral to the developing argument of the book).⁸⁹ This social

86. *Ibid.*, pp. 149f.

87. *Ibid.*, p. 147.

88. *Ibid.*, p. 151.

89. That this was not a fortuitous development, however, but related to the progress in Shelton Smith’s own thought, is suggested by a discernible underlying continuity in his intellectual and professional pilgrimage at Duke, where he began with studies in religious education which included social reconstruction and American civilization, moved into current theology, Christian ethics, and American thought, eventually omitting religious education, and finally settled in American religious thought. See my first article, *op. cit.*, especially pp. 133f.

ethic was rooted, then, in the Church as understood in terms of the preceding points, but more especially in terms of its essential oneness in Christ, "the unifying center of Christian fellowship."⁹⁰ Normatively, as in the New Testament (anchor of all these points on the Church),⁹¹ the Church knows itself to be "one community" by virtue of "this Christocentric bond."⁹²

This essential unity in Christ distinguishes the Christian community from other empirical communities, and especially from those which tend to ascribe ultimacy to their "unifying bonds" of nation, class, or race. In those beginning war years (this was written between 1939 and 1941), it was all too evident how such corporate idolatries imperiled human relationships and human existence itself. "Unless these empirical entities . . . can find a center beyond themselves," Shelton Smith gravely warned, "the future of world com-

(including note 23) and 137f., on the development of these successive teaching fields out of his investigations of the crisis, context, and historical background of religious educational thought.

The Christian social ethic of *Faith and Nurture* was thus not a new emergent but a converted one. Shortly after Shelton Smith came to Duke as Professor of Religious Education, the School of Religion catalog for April 1932 included this course: "Religious Education in Social Reconstruction. Following the consideration of religious education as a social process, one or more major social issues in contemporary civilization will be critically examined from the standpoint of education's contribution toward social reconstruction." By April 1937 this progressive educational approach had evolved into "Ethical Theory of Christian Education. The implications of Christian ethics for religious education in contemporary society."

In the April 1938 catalog he had become Professor of Christian Ethics and Religious Education and was offering a new course listed under Philosophy of Religion as "Christian Ethics. An historical and systematic study of Christian conceptions of the moral life and its problems." In May 1940 he had a new "Seminar in Christian Ethics. A critical study of selected problems"—in what was now the department of Philosophy of Religion and Christian Ethics. By the next year, May 1941 (*Faith and Nurture* was published that November), he was simply Professor of Christian Ethics, and no longer offered courses in Religious Education.

In the restructured curriculum of the May 1945 catalog the new Division of Historical Studies included the new department of American Religious Thought, in which Shelton Smith listed seven courses (including "Social Thought in American Christianity," "Modern American Christology," and period surveys), while still listing others in the department of Christian Ethics and Philosophy of Religion, in the Division of Theological Studies. By May 1946 he could leave Christian Ethics to Waldo Beach and settle into historical studies as Professor of American Religious Thought. (See the *Bulletin of the School of Religion of Duke University, 1932-1946, passim.*) Thus has his scholarly career instanced that favorite progressive theme of "continuity and change."

90. *Faith and Nurture*, p. 151.

91. He cited particularly I Corinthians 1:12-13 ("Is Christ divided?") and Ephesians 4:4-6 ("one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is over all, and through all, and in all").

92. *Faith and Nurture*, pp. 151f.

munity is dark.”⁹³ It became the unique responsibility of the Church to declare the true and ultimate center of community in such tragic times. But the Church had so obscured or denied its essential oneness by its practice, succumbing to the same tensions which divide the world, that it could neither witness prophetically in society nor rightly nurture its own. Yet Smith saw some hope that the Church might be awakened to its true unity in Christ and to the divisive forces from which it needed rescue.⁹⁴

In analyzing certain of these “factors creating empirical disunity in the Church as a nurturing community,” he undertook at some length (as we need not here) both a Christian critique of contemporary culture and an exposure of the crises of an acculturated Church. One of those divisive factors was economic. From the standpoint of “its essential being as the Body of Christ,” Smith declared, “the Church is a community of nurture which cannot recognize men as economic men, but only as persons made in the image of God and therefore as equal sons of the same Father.”⁹⁵ But in Western culture, economic interests had become autonomous and then normative social values; and the Church had both sanctioned such autonomy and accommodated to the “ethic of the economic man” to the point of becoming a “class church” and nurturing its young in a “class religion.”⁹⁶ Another division was racial. Although essentially a “supra-racial” Church, for which “men are never race men” but equal sons of God in common fellowship, the Christian community had taken on and reproduced the racial tensions and patterns of society. The logic of this racialism would be “the emergence of racial religions” and the racial absolutism of Nazism. “This challenge,” said Shelton Smith, “makes it all the more imperative for American Christianity to mitigate the evils of racialism. The Church’s first step is to transcend racial disunity within its own household, otherwise the very nurture which it generates will be reduced to further impotency.”⁹⁷ Nationalism, the third divisive force, Smith regarded as “perhaps the most characteristic feature of modern civilization.” Analyzing the rise of the newer “primitive religion” of extreme nationalism, he took it to be both a judgment on and a threat to the Church: a judgment in that the failure of traditional religion was a factor in the turn to new centers of ultimate devo-

93. *Ibid.*, p. 152.

94. *Ibid.*, pp. 152f.

95. *Ibid.*, pp. 153f.

96. *Ibid.*, pp. 154-157.

97. *Ibid.*, pp. 157-160. Someone should soon write the story of Shelton Smith’s long-time crusade for racial justice!

tion; a threat both in overt rivalry and in pervasive nationalist influence in the Church itself, in spite of the fact that "in its essential being the Church is one universal community, transcending all cultural and national limits."⁹⁸

The fourth dividing influence, sectarianism or denominationalism, was of the empirical Church itself rather than a corruption by society.⁹⁹ Smith deplored the fragmenting of the one Body of Christ into numerous differing churches, "each regarding itself as a true Church, if not the only one." He called for a more vigorous post-war ecumenical initiative on the part of the churches themselves to overcome their disunity. It would not suffice to celebrate the present transcendent unity of the Church in Christ: that should entail not a complacency but a sense of "divine judgment against our dissident historical churches." He especially lamented the "restrictive and ambiguous" character of sectarian nurture which prepared the child for sectarian churchmanship even while suggesting that he belonged to the whole Church.¹⁰⁰ In view of such sectarianism, then, and of the nationalistic, racialist, and class commitments of the acculturated Church, "it cannot be denied that the Church itself is devoid of a radical consciousness of Christ as the supra-social center of Christian community. In this unhappy situation," Shelton Smith concluded, "the empirical Church thus inevitably nurtures both children and adults in something less than one community in Jesus Christ."¹⁰¹

(d) The Church is a distinctive community of Christian nurture, finally, in that it is a "community of divine mediation." Turning from critical ethic to more evangelical proclamation, Shelton Smith drew into his new context of the doctrine of the Church the essence of earlier declarations about man and Christ and salvation. But now, with less of analytical and critical exposition, they could be offered in more organic unity and positive witness.

The very existence of the Church, he premised, bears witness to the gravity of man's predicament, the inadequacy of any human community to deliver him, and his need for God's special saving action in Jesus Christ as "the Mediator through whom God redeems men and unites them to Himself as a Christian community."¹⁰² As before, Smith represented the "mediative role" of Jesus Christ under

98. *Ibid.*, pp. 160-162.

99. He could have made this fourth point commensurate with the others, however, by citing H. Richard Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism* (Henry Holt and Company, 1929).

100. *Faith and Nurture*, pp. 163-166.

101. *Ibid.*, p. 166.

102. *Ibid.*, pp. 166f.

two aspects, both basic to Christian nurture: God's judgment on "a world of sinful existence," and the gospel of his forgiving love in Christ.¹⁰³ But in the present context, and recalling the perennial intrusion of the world's ways into the Church, he emphasized that the judgment of God in Christ "is mediated not merely through the Church to the world, but also, and first of all, to the world in the Church itself. . . . Therefore, divine judgment through the Church must always 'begin at the house of God.'"¹⁰⁴

As he reformulated this word of judgment and of mercy for the Church, however, Shelton Smith evidently thought in terms of the evangel to the individual member rather than to the erring corporate community. The essence of the matter, and indeed, apart from his ecclesiology, the recurring main doctrinal theme of *Faith and Nurture*, came to this:

Divine judgment upon human sinfulness presupposes a revelation in history of the true end of human existence. It is thus the faith of the Church that the Word became flesh in Jesus Christ not only to reveal the true character of God, but also to disclose what man is in his essential nature. From the perspective of the Incarnation man is not only a sinner; he is a child of God. In the Word made flesh man sees himself not only as one who is estranged from the Kingdom of God, but also as one who may be redeemed into loving fellowship with the Father. Thus man is conscious of the divine judgment only because he is aware that his conduct contradicts the law of Christ, which is the law of love. . . . Unless man does know himself to be under divine judgment, there is not the slightest possibility that he will seek personal salvation. . . . But if judgment is a necessary element in the nurture of the Christian community, it does not of itself restore man to fellowship in the Kingdom of God. . . . A recognition of this fact at once discloses the other aspect of the mediating role of Christ. For in Jesus Christ the Kingdom of God comes to mankind not merely in judgment but in mercy. The ultimate character of the gospel reveals itself not in condemnation but in a love that "taketh away the sins of the world." From the perspective of divine love, the gospel is "good news," not unmitigated judgment. . . . A God whose "wrath" against human sinfulness is sharper than a two-edged sword is yet a God who does not reckon the repentant believer's trespasses against him. This paradoxical truth eludes every canon of human reason, yet it is the wisdom of the gospel.¹⁰⁵

Smith found the preaching and teaching of the modern Church deficient of this paradoxical "wisdom of the gospel," and especially in regard to the gospel of divine forgiveness. On the one hand, there was a "sentimentalist strain" in much of liberal Protestantism that

103. *Ibid.*, pp. 167, 169.

104. *Ibid.*, p. 167, citing I Peter 4:17.

105. *Ibid.*, pp. 167-169.

“took God’s forgiveness for granted, as something to be expected from a loving Father.”¹⁰⁶ On the other hand, there were more realistic liberals who repudiated the “mushy sentimentalism” of this “saccharine gospel” and preached instead a more rigorous gospel of “ethical righteousness” in devotion to Jesus’ ideals of altruistic love, forgiveness of enemies, and loyal service to the Kingdom of God.¹⁰⁷ But Smith saw in this supposed realism an actually unrealistic optimism about human goodness and moral ability: it too was a “sentimental gospel” revealing “the complacency of a moralistic and self-saving culture.” A more truly realistic gospel must recognize the depths of the human predicament and offer the saving mercy of divine deliverance.¹⁰⁸ Only this, Shelton Smith was saying throughout his book, would serve for the renewal of Christian faith and nurture.

The Sequel to FAITH AND NURTURE

Faith and Nurture was given quick and wide currency as the November, 1941 selection of the Religious Book Club, and extensive reviews in leading theological and ecclesiastical journals. Its circulation mounted through repeated printings in the next decade, and only recently has it gone out of print (to the dismay of librarians and theological students who need this unique chapter in the development of religious education and thus of American religious thought). Response to *Faith and Nurture* was varied and vigorous. It was the focus of a discussion on “Has Religious Education Departed from the Faith?” at the meeting of the Professors and Research Section of the International Council of Religious Education in February, 1942, led by critics Harrison S. Elliott, William Clayton Bower, and Donald W. Riddle, along with advocate E. O. Homrighausen.¹⁰⁹ Stewart G. Cole also read a paper which included a strong critique of Smith’s views. The *International Journal of Religious Education* gave attention to the book in four successive issues, with an introductory summary review by editor Percy R. Hayward, a “trenchant criticism” by Bower, a “spirited and pointed reply” by Shelton Smith, and a concluding editorial statement by Hayward.¹¹⁰ As for

106. *Ibid.*, p. 169.

108. *Ibid.*, pp. 171f.

109. Smith was not present; he was involved in lectures. See p. 125 below.

110. See Hayward’s review in *International Journal of Religious Education*, XVIII, No. 3 (November 1941), p. 38; W. C. Bower, “Has Christian Education Departed from the Faith?” in *ibid.*, XVIII, No. 4 (December 1941), pp. 3, 32; H. S. Smith, “A Reply to Dr. Bower,” *ibid.*, XVIII, No. 5 (January 1942), pp. 3, 36; and P. R. Hayward, “How Liberal Is Christian Education?” in *ibid.*, XVIII, No. 6 (February 1942), pp. 3, 7.

107. *Ibid.*, pp. 169-171.

the Religious Education Association, its journal *Religious Education* promptly carried Edward Scribner Ames' hostile review and Cole's critical address.¹¹¹ Meanwhile veteran progressive George A. Coe and New Testament scholar Riddle joined the issues with Smith through lengthy correspondence, as did Elliott, Bower, and others through reviews and letters. It would be instructive, if space and propriety allowed, to examine this controversial correspondence here.¹¹²

But a study of the voluminous file of letters about *Faith and*

111. For Ames' review, see *Religious Education*, XXXVII, No. 1 (January-February 1942), pp. 60f.; and for Stewart G. Cole's paper to the Professors and Research Section, "The Place of Christian Education in a Crisis of Cultures," *ibid.*, XXXVII, No. 2 (March-April 1942), pp. 80-94. It was Cole's paper at the 1936 Religious Education Association meeting which Smith had attacked in his address and article, "Is Religious Naturalism Enough?"—his first open break with the R. E. A.

112. Harrison S. Elliott, Coe's successor at Union Theological Seminary, and strong defender of progressive religious education against neo-orthodoxy in his book, *Can Religious Education Be Christian?* (The Macmillan Company, 1940), again defended the progressives' positions, yielding little to Smith, countering strongly, and discerningly suspecting "that Dr. Smith is nearer to the liberal religious education which he criticizes than his sweeping and drastic criticisms would seem to indicate." (See Elliott's review in the May 1942 *Review of Religion*, pp. 184-188.)

We may be permitted one illuminating paragraph from Smith's letter of May 15, 1942 in reply to Elliott's review: "As a subscriber to *The Review of Religion*, I saw your review of my book a few days ago. Feeling as you do, you must have labored considerably to avoid kicking me down the steps of the modern house of religious education. I am glad you found the chapter on the church somewhat to your liking. That chapter is to me, too, the best one in the book. I think I could write my present positive viewpoint wholly in terms of the framework of that chapter. In that case do you think I would come out a liberal?"

Perhaps the most significant exchange was between Smith and Coe, whom Smith admired and acknowledged to be the "pathfinder" and foremost spokesman of progressive religious education, but whom he therefore most often quoted in criticizing that movement. While we cannot here analyze their continuing arguments, two brief quotations from Coe's letter of January 9, 1942 are too characteristic of this undaunted liberal to omit. Said Coe:

"... Let me say that your book has selected passages that, as far as they go, are on the whole truly representative of my thought. As I came upon the mounting number of them, I was somewhat thrilled to realize how many good things I have managed to say! But why in the world didn't you quote the passages that, from your point of view, are the most damning ones? I am far, far more guilty than you have made me out to be, for from my student days onward I have rejected what I suppose to be the essential presuppositions that underlie your criticisms of my views."

Finally, after analysis of their differences with regard to "ethical love" in religious education, Coe concluded that same letter thus: "What, then? Only this: Faith, hope, love abide, 'and the greatest of these is love.' Paul was speaking of love of men for one another. This abides between you and me, though one of us certainly is mistaken in his thinking about it. Faithfully yours, George A. Coe."

Nurture, along with the collection of about twenty-five reviews, would show their tenor to be predominantly appreciative, often highly laudatory. Since names of critics have already appeared above, it is but fair to cite a selection of more favorable respondents, including William Adams Brown, Halford E. Luccock, F. Ernest Johnson, Edwin Lewis, Carl H. Voss, E. McNeill Poteat, Harry T. Stock, Arlo Ayres Brown, Elmer O. Homrighausen, John C. Bennett, Nels F. S. Ferré, and Paul H. Vieth. Add Bishop Paul B. Kern, a leading educational statesman in Methodism and a resident of Durham during a period of Shelton Smith's early wrestling with the faith of religious education. Bishop Kern read *Faith and Nurture* and told the General Board of Education that it was an "epoch-making" book which they must take into account (but that Board was slow to understand or acknowledge such a theological critique of liberal religious education!).

Thus the range of responses was varied, and far too significant for detailed analysis and representation here. In general, there were some whose progressive views he had most sharply attacked (Coe, Bower, Ames, for examples) who countered by characterizing Shelton Smith's critique as a regrettable expression of resurgent theological authoritarianism. Bower closed his counter-criticism with the lament that "one so forceful and so able" had elected to join their "contemporary ancestors";¹¹³ and Ames concluded with the implication that Smith had successfully illuminated two irreconcilably divergent ways in religious education, his way and theirs; and they had no misgivings over which was right and appropriate to this century!¹¹⁴ Some were willing to acknowledge the corrective value of Smith's positions, but regarded his book as too negative or as too severely critical of the less representative, more extreme side of modern religious education. Others agreed with Smith in the main but cavilled at isolated particulars. A few were objective—and perceptive—enough to see that Smith's intention was constructive as well as critical, and to discern in his views a productive tension between his continuing liberal commitments and his neo-Reformation perspectives. Some welcomed the resolute application to religious education of a theological credo congenial with their older conservatism or their emerging neo-orthodoxy. Many of various persuasions hailed the book as the salutary beginning of a new day in Christian education, and called on Smith to proceed beyond this theological

113. Bower, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

114. Ames, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

ground-clearing to the positive construction of a new philosophy of Christian nurture.

That reconstructive task, however, he left largely to others. Moreover, with the publication of *Faith and Nurture* he discontinued offering courses in "religious education" and occupied himself with Christian ethics and increasingly with the development of American religious thought. But Shelton Smith had not entirely "left the field" of religious education. Indeed, as he privately interprets his pilgrimage (and as we have endeavored to show),¹¹⁵ his later work in American thought is in continuity with his earlier teaching and study in religious education. He is still enough of a disciple of Dewey and Coe to think of religion in its cultural aspects, and to be on the side of the religious reconstruction rather than merely the conservation of culture; and he can see his work with history of thought as a continuing effort "to liberate from the shibboleths of the past" through the study of cultural dynamics and cultural evolution. Hence he can answer questioners that he has not so much changed fields as followed out the line of earlier development. Indeed, from his present vantage-point he can look back on *Faith and Nurture* as "a tract for the times," and in the present post-neo-orthodox climate, can emphasize the need for better appreciation of our corrected but continuing "evangelical liberalism."¹¹⁶

Even in the narrower sense, however, he did not "leave the field" of religious education so precipitously as some have thought. Although his major contribution had been made, he occasionally wrote or lectured on theological reconstruction in Christian nurture, for more than a decade. More than brief mention here would be anti-climactic, but omission of the following instances would leave the story incomplete:

(1) Notice has already been taken of his lectures on "Faith and Nurture in Contemporary Protestant Thought" at Eden Theological Seminary and Pacific School of Religion in February, 1942 (while his book was being discussed at the International Council of Religious Education) and again at Austin Presbyterian Seminary in 1947. On the whole these addresses simply expressed more popularly the substance of his book, on the theological crisis of religious education and the themes of human existence, Christ, and the Church. Among the significant additions, however, was a more adequate recognition of the meaning of the Holy Spirit than we found in

115. See my preceding footnote 89, including its references to the first article in this series on Shelton Smith.

116. These interpretations are from conversations with Shelton Smith.

Faith and Nurture. There he had emphasized that the Church has its origin and destiny in God, and its historical beginning and ethical norm in Jesus Christ; but now, with fuller Trinitarian idiom, he attended also to the theme of its "continuing life . . . in the power of the Holy Spirit."¹¹⁷ Within the Church as the "reconciled and reconciling community," he affirmed, "a truly reconciled creature is in some essential sense a new creature." To be a new creature in Christ, according to Paul, meant that "Christ is both for us (*Christus pro nobis*) and in us (*Christus in nobis*). Christ not only justifies us; He renews us through his Spirit. By the Spirit the new creature bears witness to his sonship. . . . But by the Spirit also men grow more like Christ."¹¹⁸ This Pauline "assurance both of God's forgiving love and of our blessed privilege, through the Spirit, of growing more like Christ," underscored for Smith "a truth of highest importance" in the doctrine of religious growth revived by Bushnell and emphasized by modern religious education. Without relaxing his guard against "romantic" or "perfectionist illusions," he warned, "Woe be unto the Church if it ever again allows this fundamental truth to slip into the background of its consciousness. For the Christian is growing, continually growing, or else he is spiritually decaying. . . . continuous growth toward perfection is both a divine imperative and a human possibility."¹¹⁹ Readers of *Faith and Nurture* might be surprised at this further doctrinal undergirding of Christian nurture.

(2) During the next decade Shelton Smith published three major articles bearing on theology and nurture. "There are some signs that modern Protestant nurture may be on the threshold of a deeper perception of the realities of Christian faith," he declared in the opening sentence of his article late in 1942 on "The Supremacy of Christ in Christian Nurture"¹²⁰ (which we have discussed already). In February, 1947 he read a paper (published in 1948) on "Evangelical Christian Nurture" before the Professors' Section of the International Council of Religious Education.¹²¹ Concerned for "the evangelical nature of Christian nurture," Smith attributed the prevalent "evangelical impotence" largely to the growing secularization of the Church and the faith and the correlative obscuring of normative Biblical understanding of the human predicament and God's redemp-

117. From Lecture Four, "The Church: Community of Faith and Nurture," p. 6 (of the unpublished typescript).

118. *Ibid.*, pp. 11f., 16.

119. *Ibid.*, pp. 14, 16f.

120. *Religion in Life*, XII, No. 1 (Winter, 1942-43), pp. 31-40.

121. *Religion in Life*, XVII, No. 4 (Autumn, 1948), pp. 549-558.

tive action in Christ.¹²² If these were familiar themes by now, they were developed with freshness and relevance, and with certain noteworthy accents: for example (a) his insistence that the principle of "radical tension . . . between self-sovereignty and Divine sovereignty" precludes not only immanentist liberal optimism but also the doctrines of total depravity associated with orthodoxy and with Barth's view of the "wholly other";¹²³ and (b) a glowing précis of the conflict of self-sovereignty and divine reconciliation, culminating thus:

For one thing, there is the persistent awareness, however vague, that in the vicarious act of the Cross God, in Christ, bore the ultimate weight of human sin and thereby enabled the tension-bound self to trust in his reconciling love. Secondly, there is the grateful admission that one owes his final victory over self-sovereignty to a mercy that is unmerited. . . . Lastly, there is the consciousness that the new creature in Christ belongs to a Community without social or temporal boundaries, and beyond human construction.¹²⁴

The third article was a very different one—a remarkable tribute to "George Albert Coe: Revaluer of Values,"¹²⁵ published the year after Coe's death in 1951. This appreciative account of Coe's religious and intellectual development and contributions to American religious thought was written "to discharge 'a debt to a man who was one of my warmest friends, despite our disagreement at certain theological points.'"¹²⁶ Perhaps the theological climate may soon be favorable for a new reevaluation of enduring contributions of Coe, with Shelton Smith's appreciation as a beginning point!

(3) It was suggested earlier in this paper that the section on the Church was the most constructive part of *Faith and Nurture*; indeed, Smith had responded to friendly critic Elliott's preference for that chapter with the word, "The chapter is to me, too, the best one in the book. I think I could write my present positive viewpoint wholly in terms of the framework of that chapter."¹²⁷ While he was increasingly too absorbed in other areas of scholarship and teaching to follow out that possibility, he did later consent to give a series of nine lectures to the Presbyterian Assembly's Training School in Richmond, Virginia, August 2-12, 1954, on "Christian

122. *Ibid.*, pp. 549, 551.

123. *Ibid.*, pp. 554f.

124. *Ibid.*, p. 558.

125. *Religion in Life*, XXII, No. 1 (Winter, 1952-53), pp. 46-57.

126. *Ibid.*, p. 46n. For other tributes to Coe, see the entire issue of *Religious Education*, XLVII, No. 2 (March-April 1952), which includes also an extensive bibliography of Coe's writings.

127. See footnote 112, above.

Faith and Its Communication";¹²⁸ and these were developed around the doctrine of the Church for Christian nurture. Convinced that beneath the apparent prosperity of American Protestantism the churches were spiritually defensive, and "on the whole, captives of the ruling moral ideals and social patterns of our culture," he declared that "our primary concern is how to undergo renewal of the Church itself"; and while such renewal is not man's work but God's gracious action, man's preparation for it requires "in understanding of what the Church was designed to be."¹²⁹ For lack of such insight in American Protestantism, "Christian nurture has never fulfilled its true mission in the life of the Christian fellowship"; witness its one-sided or partial objectives—whether child-centered, character-centered, or Bible-centered—and its structural cleavages between the Sunday school and the Church, and between worship and instruction.¹³⁰ In developing an ecclesiology for Christian nurture, Smith leaned heavily on the Biblical guidance of T. W. Manson (*The Church's Ministry*) and C. H. Dodd (*The Apostolic Preaching*), and especially on Pauline teaching (including Ephesians); and, speaking to Presbyterians, he incorporated much of Calvin and the Calvinistic tradition to recall them to their heritage. On these bases he developed his conception of the ministry of the whole Christian community; of the content of this ministry as both *kerygma* for those outside and *didache* for those within the household of God; of Biblical and theological renewal of the Christian fellowship for its kerygmatic and nurturing ministries as well as its social mission; of the place of children in the covenant family and community, and the importance of the Sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper in this covenant

128. The material of these lectures remains in thirty-eight pages of "condensed notes" which were never expanded and revised for publication. Moreover, Shelton Smith, peripatetic and expressive lecturer that he is, had not allowed a tape recording. The outline of the lectures follows:

"The Christian Faith and Its Communication"

1. The Paradox of American Protestantism
2. A Primority for Christian Nurture: An Adequate Doctrine of the Church ("Primority" was Smith's word for it.)
3. The Household of God: Its Nature and Structure
4. The Ministry of the Divine Household: *Kerygma* and *Didache*
5. Renewing the Household for its Kerygmatic Mission
6. Sharing the Scriptures within the Household of God
7. Children of the Covenant
8. The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper
9. The Divine Household in its Social Mission.

129. "The Christian Faith and Its Communication," pp. 4f. (of the type-script).

130. *Ibid.*, pp. 6f.

life and nurture.¹³¹ Even this brief notice of his "condensed notes" of the lectures shows that Shelton Smith still had much to say to Christian nurture.

(4) This study may be drawn to a close with acknowledgment of one other essay—his chapter on "Christian Education" in the volume edited by Arnold S. Nash on *Protestant Thought in the Twentieth Century: Whence and Whither?* (1951).¹³² Since each contributor to this symposium was to review developments in his respective field during the first half of the century, and then to look at trends toward the future, Smith had perforce to go over again much of the ground already thoroughly plowed in *Faith and Nurture*. His approach this time was in terms of a leading question, "Do progressive religious educators have a theology?" In answer, he took note briefly of the two main roots of progressive religious education in progressive educational theory and liberal immanentist theology, and of their fusion in the thought of George A. Coe, and then proceeded to a careful analysis of the explicit and implicit theology of Coe and his resistance to "the new current in Protestant thought."¹³³ As for current and future developments, Smith saw three possible courses of action for progressive nurture. Progressives might "continue to reaffirm their already established theological convictions," as did Coe, Bower, and Elliott. Or they might "align themselves with metaphysical naturalism and abandon the distinctive Christian tradition altogether," as Ernest J. Chave was doing in *A Functional Approach to Religious Education*.¹³⁴ Or they could "reconstruct their theological foundations in light of the more realistic insights of current Christian faith." This, of course, had been the thrust of Shelton Smith's own development, and the burden of his professional advocacy, since 1931; and now he could see much hope in the theological trends of *The Study of Christian Education* completed by the International Council of Religious Education in 1947.¹³⁵ As one of the committee which worked out the section of that *Study* on "Theological and Educational Foundations," he expressed unconcealed satisfaction over its replacement of "the older optimistic notion of human nature" with a new realism about man's "dual nature" as "child of

131. *Ibid.*, *passim*.

132. Published by The Macmillan Company. See pp. 225-246 for his essay.

133. *Ibid.*, pp. 225-242.

134. *Ibid.*, pp. 242f. Chave's book was published by The University of Chicago, 1947.

135. This was issued in eight large mimeographed documents by the International Council of Religious Education, 1947, and rewritten in Paul H. Vieth, *The Church and Christian Education* (Bethany Press, 1947).

God" and "fallen creature"; and, secondly, its accent on "the nature and special content of the Christian revelation, including the centrality of Christ and his Church."¹³⁶ Clearly the desiderata of his addresses and book and articles through the years were beginning to appear in a theological renewal of faith and nurture!

* * * * *

When this essay of Shelton Smith's was taking form before mid-century, however, such salutary changes on the horizon of Christian education were yet like but a cloud the size of a man's hand. Not one significant new book in the theological reconception of Christian nurture had yet appeared to take up the constructive task bequeathed by *Faith and Nurture*. But not even Shelton Smith could then foresee what an extraordinary new burst of theological activity in Christian education would occur in the next few years, involving the major writers, professors, denominational and interdenominational boards and leaders, and many of the denominational curricula. We would not claim for Shelton Smith undue credit for such an awakening; it has come through many contributors, and out of the major theological movement of our time, and ultimately, as he would insist, from more than human initiative. (Nor, on the other hand, would we presume his *imprimatur* for all of these developments; he would find some too superficial, or too timid, or too dogmatically orthodox!) But there can be little doubt that among the religious educators he was the major prophet of the theological renovation that was needed, and that has begun to come about, in the teaching ministry of the Church. That reformation must continue!

136. Smith, "Christian Education," in Arnold S. Nash, editor, *Protestant Thought in the Twentieth Century*, pp. 244f.

Toward the Renewal of Corporate Worship

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The enigmatic question which Dietrich Bonhoeffer posed in his *Letters and Papers from Prison* continues to trouble many in the Church today in the concern for the renewal of worship. "What is the place of worship and prayer in an entire absence of religion?" he asked (*Letters and Papers from Prison*, Fontana, p. 92). If God is not to be found on the borders of life, if indeed the borders are rapidly being broken through as technology advances, then what meaning has worship for us in this kind of an ethos? The Theological Commission on Worship, in making its report to the Fourth Conference on Faith and Order of the World Council of Churches in Montreal in 1963, reflected a similar concern. ". . . there is no Christian church that is not confronted with the problem of how to lead into worship a generation which to a great extent regards the transcendent realm, and the life of prayer springing out of it, as something too vague and unimportant for its attention" (Faith and Order Paper No. 39, p. 3).

In a real sense, *we* cannot solve these problems. *We* cannot force the Holy Spirit to renew the Church or its worship. Grace is not produced through gimmicks nor is meaningful worship a matter of mechanics. Yet this does not mean that we resign ourselves completely from any responsibility. Though we cannot be presumptuous about the Holy Spirit's working, he may be leading us in new directions in worship to which we should be sensitive.

Before turning to some of these possible new directions, let me suggest a definition of Christian worship. Christian worship is the celebration by the Church in the midst of the world of the living God, of what He has done, is doing, and will do to redeem the world. It is the rehearsal of the drama of salvation through which God continually confronts us with His purpose for man individually and collectively and calls the Church to participate in it. If Christian worship is to be understood in this sense, then at least two implications follow.

One implication has to do with the norm of Christian worship. If

it is Christian worship that we are about, then it is the shape or character of God's action which determines and shapes how we worship rather than our own subjective feelings. This does not mean a rigid orthodoxy of forms of worship to be imposed on all congregations. Rather it implies considerable freedom as to the forms of worship. What is central and determinative is God's action in Jesus Christ. All else, including the specific forms of our worship, is determined by this central datum. Frederick Herzog, in an essay in *Worship in Scripture and Tradition*, edited by Massey H. Shepherd, reminds us that "The forms of the Christian cultus are not perfect and ideal means of communicating the Christian truth. They are tentative arrangements of a people that is trying more and more fully to grasp the basic datum of its ultimate commitment" (p. 100).

To consider fully what this "shape of God's action in Jesus Christ" means as it shapes Christian worship is beyond the limits of this present discussion. One might note the essay by Herzog referred to above. It might, however, be said briefly that it is the history of Jesus Christ, his life, death, and resurrection, which is decisive. He is the New Man, the Second Adam, the "first-born among many brethren." To encounter him in corporate worship is to re-enact or re-live his history so that our histories are shaped by his. This encounter involves a reminder of the God whom we worship; it involves confession and forgiveness; it involves praise and witness to God's Word; and it involves a response in dedication and offering. To put it another way, the encounter involves acknowledgment of guilt, redemption, and new life in the community of Christ. However the various forms of Christian worship may differ in language, symbols, action, and structure, they will have this common core, this norm, as their basis.

The second implication of this definition of worship has to do with the relation of worship to the mission of the Church. Worship is the celebration *in the midst of the world* of God's activity. It is not the pious withdrawal from the world to some religious realm where we meet God. This is what Bonhoeffer was strongly reacting against. If God is to be worshipped, then He must be worshipped where He is at work, in the midst of the world rather than on the borders. This is not to suggest that the Christian community, gathered to worship, is not aware of a dimension of life that the world knows not of, "the peace of God, which passes all understanding." To celebrate God's action as Creator, Sustainer, Judge and Redeemer, is to trust deeply that past, present and future belong to Him. Never-

theless, it is in the world and not apart from it that God makes himself known in His action.

Furthermore, as the Church gathers to worship, she sets up a sign in the midst of the world of God's purpose for the world. This is to say that the Church's worship is eschatological, manifesting the new creation in the midst of the old. (See especially a helpful essay by Alexander Schmemmann, "Theology and Liturgical Tradition," in *Worship in Scripture and Tradition*, Massey H. Shepherd, ed.). Worship and mission are not, therefore, separate "activities" of the Church. To gather to worship as a Christian congregation is to be in mission.

With this understanding underlying worship, what are some of the possibilities for the renewal of our corporate worship?

The first step towards the renewal of worship which I would suggest has to do with the recovery of a more adequate sense of the fulness of Christian worship. Christian worship in this country, with some notable exceptions, has usually suffered from a one-sided emphasis on either Word or Sacrament. Low-church Protestantism has, by and large, relegated the Sacraments, especially the Lord's Supper, to a place of secondary importance to preaching. Even then, some of that which we have called preaching hardly resembles what the New Testament understands as proclamation. On the other hand, the churches which have stressed the Sacraments have done so in many instances in such a way that preaching has been denigrated. My plea, then, is for a recovery of the fulness of worship which elevates neither Word nor Sacrament over the other, but which gives both their rightful place. This is no more than the basic Reformation insistence that the "Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men in which the pure Word of God is preached, and the Sacraments duly administered according to Christ's ordinance" (Articles of Religion, No. XIII).

Why are both needed? It is because a congregation in which the interpreted Word is subordinate to the Sacrament is in danger of forgetting where the Lord's Supper begins. It is in danger of simply repeating old traditions to the point of missing the good news which the Sacrament celebrates. Though the situation in present day churches which lay heavy emphasis on the Sacrament is far different from that of the Middle Ages, it is nevertheless instructive to recall that the expression "hocus pocus" grew out of a situation in which the *hoc est meum corpus*, intoned at the altar, was so poorly understood by the congregation that it did in fact seem to be "hocus pocus."

On the other hand, for those of us raised in "low-church" Protes-

tantism, there needs to be an equal recovery of frequent, if not weekly, celebration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. This is not simply because our Lord commanded this, but because in this celebration, in these visible elements which we take and eat, the deed of God in Jesus Christ becomes present to us in a vital way, which unfortunately is not always true of our preaching. To receive the bread and wine is to receive visible symbols of the living presence of the One who died and rose again, in whose life we participate in joy and thankfulness. Furthermore, these "earthy" elements of bread and wine remind us that it is not apart from the world that we are called but rather in the world, even as God was incarnate in Jesus of Nazareth.

It is too much to ask of present-day Methodism, for example, to recover the weekly celebration of the Sacrament, in the context of an equal emphasis on preaching? As John Deschner has rightly said, "There is no single step which could do more to drive trivia from Sunday worship than to center it again—as the church in all ages has centered it—in the interpreted sacrament" (*motive*, November 1961, p. 7).

A second need, if worship is to be renewed, is for increased congregational understanding of worship and participation in its planning. I do not believe it unfair to say that most congregations today simply do not have the faintest notion of the theology of worship. They participate, following the leading of the minister or the prayer book, but have little idea of why they do what they do or even of what they are doing. Furthermore, they do not have much of a voice in planning the worship, and, even if they did, they would not know where to begin.

This implies such practical steps as seminars on the theology and practice of worship led by the clergy for the congregation. Occasional explanatory services of worship, in which the pastor interprets the service as it progresses, are also helpful. The use of printed orders of service with a parallel column interpreting the movement of the service is another means of aiding the understanding of the congregation. As for unfamiliar hymns and choral responses, there might be congregational rehearsals at the beginning of the service.

Yet, why should the congregation not also share in the planning of certain parts of the service? A number of instances could be cited where members of the congregation meet weekly with the clergy to share in the preparation of the sermon and the prayers of intercession which are to be offered. What a difference such "shared preaching" and "shared praying" by the "whole people of God"

would make in many of our present day services! I dare say that our preaching might once more become "a true and lively Word!"

A third suggestion has to do with the recovery, not only of the fulness of worship, but also of the wholeness of the Christian heritage. In this day of awakened ecumenicity, would not one means of making it come alive on the "grass roots" level be to make use of liturgies and services from the whole range of the Christian tradition? What is being suggested is the occasional use, with adequate explanation (perhaps by a representative of the other tradition), of liturgies from other traditions. Such using of services should be done with the assistance and approval of representatives of the other traditions. Nevertheless, to do so is to remind oneself and one's congregation that our particular tradition does not have the whole of the truth, and that there are significant emphases in divergent traditions which need to be recovered and appreciated by others.

Finally, we, in this country, have a lesson to be learned from the so-called Younger Churches of Africa and Asia. Like them, we need to exercise the freedom which is ours in Christ to seek and use new forms which may help to make worship more indigenous to our age. Christians in India, considering this question of making worship indigenous, have said:

Indigenization is a principle inherent in the Christian doctrines of Creation and Redemption, and the Incarnation of the Word of God. The cultural elements, music, dance and other forms of art in any country, reflect the glory of God's creation. Because of man's fallen condition these may not in their present form and usage glorify God. For use in the Christian context they need to be redeemed or transformed by the process of bringing these under the judgment of Christ (Quoted in Faith and Order Paper No. 39, p. 37).

Can we in this country not learn from this? To be sure, the forms of worship which have come to us through the various traditions are much more indigenous to those of us in the West. They are a part of our Western cultural heritage, what some would call our "unself-conscious historical consciousness." As a part of our heritage these forms have much more meaning for us than, perhaps, for our Asian brothers. Nevertheless, is there not considerable indication that for many in present-day Western culture the traditional forms, particularly their language, have lost their power to communicate? Our congregation at the Methodist Center at Duke University has used on several occasions the Litany from the *Book of Common*

Prayer. It is a very meaningful and strong prayer; yet, smiles cannot help but steal across our faces as we pray, "Deliver us from privy conspiracies." Of course this is a minor and somewhat ludicrous example; nevertheless, it is an indication of what may be a larger problem, not simply of language, but in all the symbols: art, music and action as well as language. What may well be needed in worship is something similar to the radical recasting of the categories of theology which Bishop Robinson attempts in *Honest to God*.

Where is our warrant to do this? Is it not in the freedom which is ours in Christ? As was indicated above, God allows us considerable freedom in the forms with which we worship Him. The forms are not sacrosanct. What is decisive and normative is that our worship be shaped by the character of God's action in Jesus Christ.

Several examples of attempts at indigenization may be cited. Most recent has been the Roman Catholic decision to allow the Mass to be celebrated in the vernacular. A beautiful setting of the Mass in English has been done by a young American composer, Dennis Fitzpatrick (available in a 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ R.P.M. monaural recording, "Demonstration English Mass," from English Liturgy, 3501 Hillside Road, Evanston, Illinois, \$4.98). Other contemporary musical settings of the Liturgy include such examples as the jass setting of the Sunday service which John Wesley prescribed for use by American Methodists (Ecclesia Record, 101), and Geoffrey Beaumont's "Twentieth Century Folk Mass" (Fiesta Record Company, Inc., FLP 25000), which uses everyday popular rhythms and melodies as a setting for the service.

Of course, there are dangers of dillettantism or or gimmickery when one attempts to make worship indigenous. Neither of these is intended, however. What is intended is a concern to take seriously contemporary culture, in obedience to the One who "so loved the world that he gave his only Son. . . ." We shall not, by any means, scrap the traditional forms. But perhaps the use of indigenous cultural expressions can help our congregations to take seriously once more the intimate connection between worship and mission which so often seems to be lacking.

Here, then, are some of the possibilities open to us for the renewal of corporate worship. We cannot force the Holy Spirit to renew us, nor can we presume to know too much about how he is renewing us. Nevertheless these may be some of the directions in which he is leading us to acknowledge the God who meets us, not on the borders of life, but in its very midst.

The First and the Last

Revelation 1:7-11, 21:1-6

John of Patmos scanned the clouds, and understandably so.

Jerusalem lay plundered,

Rome was a-building,

and John was stranded on the very island from which the Caesars quarried stone for their eternal city on the Tiber.

But John did not languish, nor did he wring his hands over what the world was coming to.

In his past, and present, was an event which would not allow him to take the measure of the world by Rome's impressive blocks of stone.

“He laid his right hand upon me, saying, ‘Fear not, I am the first and the last, the living one; I died, and behold I am alive forevermore, and I have the keys of death and Hades.’” (Rev. 1:18)

John was as sure of the Omega as of the Alpha.

The Revelation is testimony to that faith, as dauntless as it is difficult to articulate, the faith of all those who in mourning over the world have waited for God's comfort.

For John it was the clouds and a new Jerusalem.

Paul had waited till the trumpet should sound and the Lord descend. Hebrews has it simply “Jesus Christ the same, yesterday, today and forever.”

But however it is put, it is the faith we share with John of Patmos, we who amid the very beauty of the autumn countryside remember that we, with our earthly city, are passing away.

We are likely listening for no trumpet.

The sound of one would conjure up Civil Defense, not Gabriel.

Nor do we turn our radar on the clouds in anticipation of a *friend*.

But we understand what John means.

Let us, therefore, celebrate our common faith in God's triumph.

John says that he shares three things with us:

“I John your brother . . . share with you in Jesus the tribulation and the Kingdom and the patient endurance. . . .” (1:9)

In the midst of tribulation—and you can fill in what that means for you—we share the kingdom.

We, like John, have seen the Kingdom of God, and, consequently, we can no more be satisfied with the world than we can despair over it.

By the second coming of Jesus Christ we mean to say that in our past and present is a reality with ultimate implications.

Because we have heard the gospel, we listen for a trumpet.

The angel Gabriel stands on top of the Riverside Church, his trumpet poised and his face lifted to the skies as if he were watching a jet take off from Kennedy International.

He is a parable in stone.

He stands firmly anchored to the storied past,

surrounded by the bustling present,
and obviously hopeful for the future.

His trumpet says that he has heard something, but his uplifted face says that he is looking for something out of sight.

His name means "man of God," herald of the kingdom which is here and yet to come,

at hand,
around the corner,
the city that is new yet named Jerusalem.

For eight months I saw Gabriel every morning and night.

I went to work and play and worship, and he stood there all the while, his trumpet ready.

The foundations of the church on which he perches grab the bedrock of Manhattan as if intending to stand there by the Hudson forever.

And all the while Gabriel has his head in the clouds.

The stained glass around his feet points to the past,
to faraway places and antique times.

Every Sunday Gabriel hears the same old story,

told to people in well-worn pews,
who expect to go to work on Monday and come back
next Sunday.

They would be surprised to hear Gabriel toot his horn.

The days come and go, and Gabriel looks up into sun and wind, sleet and snow.

He sees out of the corner of his eye that men still go down to the sea in ships,

that the traffic becomes a little more hectic every Friday
afternoon, and that the park turns russet autumn after
autumn.

Summer and winter, seedtime and harvest, day and night, vary no more than the traffic lights.

But Gabriel keeps his horn ready.

And so it must be, that in the midst of our city, we look for a city.
For the carillon plays and the people sing over and over:

“Oh God our help in ages past,
Our hope for years to come. . . .”

Our future rests firmly on our past.

Because stained glass points back to a stable and a cross and *three* travelers on Emmaus road, Gabriel can lift his trumpet.

It is what God has done that braces us for the living of these days, though we can do no better in charting our hope for the future than to use John's clouds and trumpets.

This hope, the hope of God's kingdom, enables us to live in the present and face the future as John did, in *patient endurance*, in that steadfastness founded in remembering and expecting,

in that grace which sustains us at the Lord's table where we remember Jesus and wait in expectation.

The table is at once our confession that we cannot live our lives in the world by bread alone and our thanksgiving that God nourishes his people.

And so we are able to endure, doing our work in the world, because all our expectations are in God.

Disappointment and disillusion are built into merely human hopes. So we face a discouraging world as did John, with no confidence in the world, but in “the Lord, the everlasting God, the Creator of the ends of the earth, who does not faint or grow weary.”

It is they who wait upon the Lord who shall renew their strength. I cannot say how you are to wait, for I do not know what you must endure.

It is likely, however, that we will endure by doing our duty,
that we will take the world seriously without taking it with utter seriousness,

that we will live out this year, and succeeding years, but not merely as 1964 that year which is 1964 *Anno Domini*.

We will go on doing our push-ups and pushing pencils and making pies.

We will go to the dentist twice a year and do our homework, and save for our children's future.

For to wait on the Lord as if the world were of no account is to miss the kingdom which is in our midst.

To neglect human things is to deny the first coming, the incarnation by which God has hallowed earthy things and made our life all of a piece.

Not only do we wait in work, but in rest, for to know that the world passes away does not make us frantic to stay the days or to fear the future.

We know that the Word of our God stands, and so we pass our days in quietness and peace and at night go content to our beds.

We endure time as those who know that all our times are in his hands, past, present, and future.

But while we wait in work and rest, we mourn for the world.

The very fact that Gabriel is there is a symbol of our holy dissatisfaction.

Had John been content with things as they were, how would he have seen a new city?

And why should Gabriel raise his audacious trumpet in the midst of a city where all is well?

But all is not well, no more than in the old Jerusalem over which Jesus mourned.

And we are never so much in his company, nor so near to the pathos of Gabriel's searching eye, as when we weep over the daily newspaper, over the life of the world.

"Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted."

But our weeping is not that of sentimentality or of despair, for that is not the mourning which is in itself blessedness.

It is the comforted grief of those who have seen and who wait to see the salvation of God.

For while we mourn over the world, we know the meaning of the promise,

"*Blessed* are they that mourn. . . ."

We endure patiently as those who know that the valleys will be exalted and the hills made low, even as in Israel's crooked time a voice was heard:

"Comfort ye, comfort ye, my people."

Everyone of us has his own Patmos, where he waits with John and Paul and Simeon and Rauschenbusch for the consolation of Israel. Only you know your Patmos, and you will have to make John's vision your own, but the vision of faith makes possible our patient endurance.

Who knows this better than Dilsey, in William Faulkner's *The Sound and the Fury*.

Dilsey does her duty in the world, knowing all the while that the world is coming to an end, the world where so much is wrong.

Dilsey is the old Negro servant, the mammy, in the Compson house-

hold, a family for whom life is all sound and fury signifying nothing. Dilsey is the only person in the family who will accept suffering, who will accept life as it is.

The book closes on Easter Sunday, 1928.

Dilsey begins the day by carrying wood, getting breakfast, and trying to maintain peace in the family.

There is a strange, dogged hopefulness about the woman as she ducks her gray head and heaves herself up and down the stairs at Mrs. Compson's whim.

But Dilsey gets her work done and goes off to church with her children and the feeble-minded Ben.

The path is uphill and leads among dilapidated Negro cabins.

The weatherbeaten church stands against a gray Easter morning.

Inside are decorations of crepe paper and above the pulpit an old red Christmas bell, the kind that folds up like an accordion.

The people sing, and then a preacher in a shabby alpaca coat gives a sermon on suffering and Easter, all about the agony of the cross, and about the golden horns shouting down the glory.

Dilsey weeps quietly, rises, and leaves the church.

Approaching the big Compson house, with its rotting portico, Dilsey's children want to know why she weeps.

She tells them never to mind and continues to weep what seem tears of comforted sorrow.

Back in the kitchen, about her usual tasks, from which there is no escape, she talks to herself about having seen the first and the last, the beginning and the end.

And Dilsey endures.

More than that, she lives joyfully, lovingly in the world, for she knows the decisive truth;

Jesus Christ is alpha and omega.

So Gabriel, lift your trumpet.

For though it often does not appear to be so, to eyes of faith it is clear, especially when we wait on Patmos,

or endure a world of rotting porticoes, that

"the Kingdoms of this world are become the Kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ, and he shall reign forever and ever." Amen

York Chapel
October 24, 1965

CHARLES L. RICE
Assistant in Preaching

The Dean's Discourse

At this moment of writing we look forward with satisfaction to a forthcoming Convocation of students, faculty, and alumni in dedication. On May 12 at high noon we rededicate the newly renovated Divinity School Building and dedicate to the lasting honor of the late Bishop John Carlisle Kilgo the newly constructed entrance porch of the Divinity School. We anticipate the assembly of alumni and friends on this occasion and rejoice that our Bishop Paul N. Garber of the Raleigh Area, chief biographer of Kilgo, will bring the principal address and participate in the dedicatory ceremonies. We shall be honored also by the participation of President Douglas M. Knight in the dedicatory service.

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The past few months have seen the final departure of several colleagues and dear friends of the Divinity School family.

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On February 18, RUTH MERTZ PETRY, beloved wife of our colleague, Professor Ray C. Petry, was suddenly stricken and passed from this mortal scene in but a few hours. Ruth Petry was a devoted neighbor and friend of students and faculty families for nearly thirty years. The profound bereavement of her husband is shared by all of us who knew her.

She was born March 17, 1898, near Burnettsville, Indiana. She received the A.B. degree from Indiana University and the A.M. degree in English literature and drama from the University of Colorado. She did special studies in Latin at the University of Wisconsin and taught English and Latin in the Indiana high schools prior to her marriage, May 29, 1930. Cultured in the liberal arts, she was a helpmeet extraordinary to her husband in his humane learning and writing. From her funeral sermon I excerpt a few words which it was my honor to compose and present in Trinity Methodist Church, February 21, 1965:

“Gifted of mind and well educated, Ruth was equally unimpressed by the pretense of the academy and the unction of uncritical religion. At the same time, she was undeterred by the naive simplicities of untutored faith. Somehow, for her, these were no real disqualifications. She knew, with the down-to-earth sense that sometimes comes with country rearing, that wisdom is justified only by her children. . . .

"No faculty wife consulted the treasures of the Rare Book Room, including the Latin texts, more than Ruth; but none, either, was more alert to capture and keep shafts of golden insight from the neighbor's maid or the child next door. I have not known one who could *hear, see, and treasure* more largely the words and signs of little children in the rough and tumble of play or in casual conversation of the side yard.

"Children and childlike innocence she took seriously, believing on good authority, that 'except ye become as a little child ye cannot enter the kingdom of God.' No one knew better than Ruth that 'out of the mouths of babes and sucklings Thou has ordained praise!' For adults Ruth reserved her gentle whimsy and sometimes her irony—as suited to their condition—and as the grace of her forbearance and the manner, also, of her Christian charity. Delightfully demure, at times she could suddenly settle presumption, such as mine, with a deft 'aside.' Modest about herself, she, at the same time, over-estimated no one. You could as easily sweep her off her feet with a gale of many words as alter the colors of her prized roses with well deserved compliments. Yet, gentle toward all, she was a beloved neighbor, not because she raised a finger to cultivate anyone, but because she cared. And therewith, also, was her integrity. She was obedient to the heavenly vision."

Edified by her life we shall be strengthened by her memory.

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DR. RUSSELL L. DICKS—Alumni and faculty of the Divinity School were saddened by the news of the sudden death by heart attack of Dr. Dicks, March 8, 1965, at his home in Orlando, Florida.

Dr. Dicks joined the faculty of the Divinity School in 1948 during the deanship of Dr. Harold Bosley and continued his services until 1959, when he resigned to undertake private counseling practice which led to his settlement with his family in Orlando, Florida, where he became Director of the Central Florida Counseling Service.

Dr. Dicks joined the faculty of the Divinity School as Associate Professor of Pastoral Care and eventually established a chaplaincy program in the Duke Hospital, beginning what has become an integral part of the program of the Medical Center.

Dr. Dicks received the A.B. degree from the University of Oklahoma in 1930 and his B.D. degree from Union Theological Seminary, New York, in 1933. He was for five years thereafter on the staff of the Massachusetts General Hospital, where the basis for his career in pastoral care was laid. It was here that he labored as a

colleague of the famous physician, Richard C. Cabot, and together with Cabot published his influential and pioneering volume on *The Art of Ministering to the Sick* (New York, 1936). Thereafter many writings came from his pen which contributed to the development of the present-day discipline of pastoral care in the curricula of contemporary theological schools.

Dr. Dicks was the first teacher of clinical pastoral training in a general hospital, along with A. Philip Guiles. He was the first to analyze pastoral case material for *The Pastor*. For many years he edited the privately published magazine entitled *Religion and Health* and was the general editor of the *Pastoral Aid Series* of the Westminster Press. Before coming to Duke and after his departure from Boston, he served as chaplain in the Presbyterian Hospital, Chicago, and was a member of the faculty of Southern Methodist University and Associate Pastor of Highland Park Methodist Church in Dallas, Texas. During the period of his service to the Divinity School he was a nationally recognized lecturer in his field and at the same time laid the foundation of the Pastoral Care program which has subsequently prospered and developed involving not only Duke Medical Center but adjacent service institutions.

The alumni, as well as the faculty, of the Divinity School desire to extend their deepest word of sympathy to Mrs. Dorothy Dicks and the children, Joan, William, and James. Mrs. Dicks' address is 2524 Delwood Drive, Orlando, Florida.

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DR. KELSEY REGEN—Dr. Regen died April 15, 1965, in Richmond, Virginia, after a lingering illness. He was pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, which pastorate he had assumed in 1960 after a notable service to church and community as pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Durham, North Carolina. From 1952 until 1960 Dr. Regen served as a part-time lecturer in Pastoral Theology, contributing the wealth of his experience, wisdom, and grace to the students of the Divinity School who elected his courses. His churchmanship was of the highest order, and he endeared himself alike to students and faculty in the course of his enriching service.

Dr. Regen had come to the ministry of the First Presbyterian Church, Durham, in 1940 and served in such a way that the *Durham Morning Herald* editorial writer properly observed that his "ministry extended beyond the bounds of his congregation. In quite a real sense, all Durham was his parish." He was moderator of the Synod of North Carolina in 1958-59 and president of the North Carolina

Council of Churches, 1952-54. In 1959 he received the Council's Distinguished Service Award. He was a member of the Board of Trustees of Davidson College, from which he had received his A.B. degree in 1926. He was a graduate of Louisville Presbyterian Theological Seminary, receiving the B.D. degree in 1929. A member of Phi Beta Kappa from Davidson, he was awarded the honorary Doctor of Laws degree from Tusculum College. He was minister of the First Presbyterian Church of Middletown, New York, and he came to Durham from the Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church in Covington, Kentucky.

When the fateful eventuality became plain to him in February, and it was suggested, "We can still hope for a miracle," he replied, "Perhaps we may, but the miracle we can look for is the attitude which we take toward what lies before us."

His wife, Mrs. Jocelyn Watson Regen, resides at 100 Windsor Way, Richmond, Virginia. He is survived by his son, Jon Watson Regen, and a daughter, Margot Ann Regen.

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These all died in faith, having received the promises.

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I am pleased to announce the strengthening of our faculty by the appointment of the following persons:

DANIEL M. SCHORES, JR., will assume his duties June 1, 1965, as Associate Director of Field Education and Assistant Professor of Church and Community. Mr. Schores comes to us from Missouri, where he has been, since 1959, the very able Director of Church and Community of the Missouri Area.

Mr. Schores is a graduate of Central Methodist College, receiving the A.B. degree in 1950. He received the B.D. degree from Duke Divinity School in 1953, and the Ph.D. degree in Sociology of Religion from the University of Missouri is expected to be awarded at the forthcoming 1965 commencement.

Mr. Schores is married to Marie Sessler Schores. They are the parents of five children.

Mr. Schores has the distinction of being awarded the honorary title of Rural Minister of the Year by Emory University for 1964. He is a member of the Rural Sociology Society, the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, and the Religious Research Association. He is a member of the Missouri East Conference of The Methodist Church.

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DWIGHT MOODY SMITH, JR., will join the faculty of the Divinity School as Associate Professor of New Testament, September 1, 1965, and will bring to this field of study urgently needed supporting instruction which became needful as Dr. Kenneth W. Clark assumed full-time responsibility for the International Greek New Testament Project. Dr. Smith comes to us from five years of teaching on the faculty of the Methodist Theological School in Ohio.

Dr. Smith is a graduate of Davidson College, receiving the A.B. degree with Phi Beta Kappa. He received the B.D. degree from Duke Divinity School in 1957, the M.A. from Yale University in 1958, and the Ph.D. degree from the same institution in 1961. His fellowships included Boies University Fellowship, 1957-58; Dempster Fellowship, 1958-59; Kent Fellowship, 1958-; and the Fels Fellowship for 1959-60. He is a member of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis and the Society for Religion in Higher Education.

His graduate work at Yale, as well as at Duke Divinity School, has been uncommonly distinguished. His doctoral dissertation has recently been published by the Yale University Press under the title *The Composition and Order of the Fourth Gospel*. It is a searching and monumental study of Rudolf Bultmann's methodology of New Testament analysis. (See review on pp. 157-159.)

Dr. Smith and his wife Jane are the parents of two children.

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DR. ROBERT E. SMITH, M.D., and since 1960 Assistant Professor of Pastoral Care and Psychiatric Counsel, will terminate his services to the Divinity School and to the Department of Psychiatry to assume new duties as Professor of Pastoral Care and Psychiatric in service to four Anglican theological colleges of Oxford, England.

Dr. Smith has been a part-time instructor in the program of Pastoral Care in collegueship with the director, Professor Richard A. Goodling. Under their cooperative effort the program has acquired gratifying stature, and to this development Dr. Smith has made a truly significant contribution. With this expression of genuine appreciation, I add the word of some pride that we are able to participate through Dr. Smith in a first contribution of its kind to Anglican theological education at Oxford.

ROBERT E. CUSHMAN

HARRY B. PARTIN, Lecturer in History of Religions:

A politician and twice governor of my home state (Kentucky) used to boast that he was born between two rows of tobacco. I came rather close to that, for I was born and reared on a tobacco farm near Lexington. I find the scent of tobacco which occasionally drifts across the Duke campus neither strange nor unpleasant.

I came from a family which had long ago entered the "dark and bloody ground" through the Cumberland Gap from Virginia (and North Carolina). Recent generations of the family were largely Methodist, but as a boy I rebelled against the highly pietistic form of Methodism represented in the local church and became a member of the Disciples of Christ. It was only later that I learned of the richness and variety of Methodism.

My early vocational plan was to enter the legal profession, following the pattern of a jurist uncle. However, when I was sixteen, my pastor startled me by asking if I had considered the Christian ministry as a vocation. I replied that I had never given it a thought. But once the thought had been put into my mind it would not leave. Two years later I entered Transylvania College. The ex-governor referred to above had earlier arrived at Transylvania College with, as he was wont to put it, "a smile, a red sweater, and a five-dollar bill." My "assets" on arrival included the determination to study for the ministry.

For my B.D. studies I sought a seminary which would be highly demanding intellectually, and soon was at the Disciples Divinity House of the University of Chicago. After receiving the degree I was called to a Southern California church as associate minister. Two years later I was invited by the late Professor Joachim Wach to return to Chicago for graduate work in History of Religions. I had the privilege of studying under Joachim Wach until his untimely death. In Joachim Wach I encountered for the first time a great man. Several years ago when I stood before his grave in a small cemetery cut into a mountain at Orselina overlooking Locarno, I understood why the graves of the great have been places of pilgrimage.

Professor Wach's death was unsettling academically as well as

personally. Just as I had decided to "take a break" in my doctoral studies, an invitation came from the World Council of Churches to join the staff of the Division of Studies as secretary for a newly-authorized study of "The Word of God and the Living Faiths of Men" sponsored jointly by the World Council and the International Missionary Council. A two-year appointment lengthened into five, with the first two years spent with the I.M.C. in London and the last three in Geneva (when not "on the road" in the Middle East and Asia). I saw for myself that the encounter in depth between Christian faith and other religious faiths is just beginning despite a century and a half of missionary activity. On the Christian side the encounter is inhibited by the ghetto mentality (of which Dr. Russell Chandran of India spoke recently to a Divinity School audience) and exclusivist theological formulations of Christians, as well as by the tendency to settle for a superficial understanding of other religions. Joachim Wach used to say that before one compares he should know and understand the phenomena he wants to compare.

I cannot think of an experience which could have better served to send one back into graduate study in History of Religions. Happily, Joachim Wach had a worthy successor at Chicago in the person of Mircea Eliade. I returned to Chicago in 1962 to continue my doctoral program in History of Religions (with some specialization in Islamics). Then came exciting and demanding years: study under Eliade; editorial work for a new international journal, *History of Religions*; and a phenomenological study of religious pilgrimage.

The opportunity to join the faculty of Duke University last fall was accepted without hesitation for a number of reasons. For one thing, I desired to return to the South after too long an absence and to rear my family (now consisting of one wife and three children) in this region. For another, I wanted to become part of a university with increasingly high standards of excellence. Fully as important, however, was the presence here of Professor Herbert P. Sullivan, a long-time friend and fellow graduate student, who had already done much to convey a fresh understanding of the History of Religions. The discipline of the History of Religions, I am convinced, is not to be defined fundamentally by its subject-matter (usually taken to be "non-Christian religions") but by the perspective and methods which it employs for the study of *any* religious phenomena. In short, it is a hermeneutic.

The Empirical Theology of Henry Nelson Wieman. Edited by Robert W. Bretall. Macmillan. 1963. 423 pp. \$8.50.

In the 1920's "empirical theology" (broadly speaking) was the most exciting version of American religious thought. A foremost figure in the left-wing of this current was Henry Nelson Wieman (1884—). His first book, *Religious Experience and Scientific Method* (1926), waited him into the University of Chicago, where for some twenty years he was the center of theological discussion. His first volume was speedily followed by others, such as *The Wrestle of Religion with Truth* (1927), *Methods of Private Religious Living* (1929), and *Is There A God?* (1932). He elaborated his definitive system in an arresting book, entitled *The Source of Human Good* (1946).

When Wieman went to the University of Chicago, its Divinity School was the foremost exponent of an anthropocentric type of religious humanism, but under his vigorous criticism that brand of belief was thrown on the defensive. As an alternative to it, he advocated what he called "theocentric religion." But although he was a theocentrist, he rejected all tendencies to identify God in terms of mind, being, or personality. Drawing upon the insights of Dewey, James, and Whitehead, he urged that God is best defined as a particular kind of growth, synthesis, or interchange.

The present work is volume four in "The Library of Living Theology." Its pattern of organization is unique. It opens with Wieman's own "intellectual autobiography" and is followed by nineteen short essays, presented by recognized scholars. To each of these essayists Wieman then

replies, giving special attention to their criticisms of his system. On the whole, the book is an exciting adventure and will richly reward a careful examination.

Today empirical theology is in eclipse, owing to a renewal of theology closer to the classical Christian tradition, but there are already signs that religious empiricism, in some form, will get another look. When this comes true, Wieman's mode of empirical theology will almost certainly be re-examined. Apart from his own writings—a full list of which up to 1963 will be found in this symposium—there is no better source-book with which to do one's homework than the present publication. The editor is to be commended for his careful workmanship.

—H. Shelton Smith

The Rationality of Faith. Carl Michalson. Scribner's. 1963. 160 pp. \$3.50.

The purpose of Michalson's book is to give an exposition of the significance of the modern concept of history for the Christian faith. Michalson hopes to show "how it comes about that Christians and non-Christians alike impute to Christianity absurdities which are not really there, and how these absurdities may evaporate and give way to solidly redemptive meaning when the question of Christian understanding is rigorously set within the logic of history" (p. 19). The rationality of faith consists of the absence of absurdities if faith is approached on the model of history. Michalson apparently hopes to adopt history as "the model of theological thinking" (p. 18).

There is no reason to object to the use of history as an analogy of the Christian faith. But is it justifi-

able to make history the ultimate court of appeal? Michalson also uses the word "God," but he equates it with history or some facet thereof. Wherever Michalson speaks of God, he finds the meaning of the word in the historical dimension. For Michalson there is no God to appeal to beyond history: "There is no immediate relation between Christians and God: that relation is mediated by Jesus of Nazareth, the word of God" (p. 98). Every aspect of God's being or activity relates to history: "The everlasting arms are made of history, the fleshiness of the world" (p. 105). Knowledge of God "cannot result from natural testimony" (p. 55). Only historical events reveal who God is, the resurrection, for example, an event "in which it is revealed through Jesus of Nazareth who God really is" (p. 52). Knowing God in this way should help to find a new relationship to the world: "The word 'God' is not an invitation to point to some transcendent reality. It is an invocation to receive the world from beyond oneself" (p. 146).

History for Michalson is interpretation. So is theology: "The task of the theologian, like that of the historian, is to stir up the sediment of meaning in the sedimentation of events. . . . For those who think man lives by facts, the pursuit of meaning will appear as a form of historical violence" (p. 64). The task of theology consists in working out the proper relationship between fact and meaning. But whenever we ask Michalson what *fact* he might be interpreting, we get no definite answer, although we are told: "A statement of fact may help to *settle* an historical question" (p. 60).

If history is the ultimate court of appeal also for theology, one wonders why reference to God should be made at all. While history may make faith seem more rational and less absurd and thus might function as an *analogy* of theological thought, alone it is unable to give meaning to the

word "God." History is God's interpreter, but not God.

—Frederick Herzog

Tangled World. Roger L. Shinn. Scribner's 1965. 158 pp. \$3.

The Meaning of Christian Values Today. William L. Bradley. Westminster. 1964. 176 pp. \$4.50.

Christian Responsibility in Economic Life. Albert Terrill Rasmussen. Westminster. 1965. 90 pp. \$1.25.

These three popularly written books, read in conjunction with each other, reflect both the present ethical situation in America and the situation in American Christian ethics. The broad consensus in Christian social ethics in this country is seen in the common concern of the three authors for a realistic description of the problems of our complex and interrelated society characterized by the "big change" (Rasmussen) of the organizational revolution; the problem of the relation of the historic Christian faith to a world held by many to be "post-Christian" (Bradley); and the relation of the individual to the social order.

Tangled World is based on a series of television programs sponsored by the United Church of Christ. In thirteen chapters, Shinn discusses the most pressing problems of our society, such as poverty, urbanization, racial conflict, political and economic challenges, sexual ethics, and internationalism. He does not attempt to give answers but "to help people understand what they are doing so that they can act more responsibly." As befits the nature of his audience, the book is clearly, simply and interestingly written; description and analysis are well documented and illustrated. The Christian faith which provides Shinn's own context is seldom explicitly stated.

Rasmussen's and Bradley's books appear respectively in the Westminster series "Christian Perspectives on Social Problems" and "Studies in Christian Communication." The first is

more successful than the second in fulfilling the aim of series and book. Rasmussen recognizes the "tragic separation" between religion and daily life reflected in the gap between faith and economic affairs but sees the possibility of a fruitful dialogue between economic theorists and interpreters of the Christian faith. On the basis of an historical sketch of the changing forms of Protestant ethics and of the secular business creed, he asserts that a new convergence between Christian ethics and business ethics can be seen in *decision*. He submits the "American Business Creed" to a Christian critique, stressing cooperation instead of competition and limitation rather than self-regulation through the operation of a free economy (an abstraction).

Bradley addresses himself to the problem of the lack of moral sensitivity, and the "seeming incommunicability of the Christian norms of the good life." The ideas of the good man and the good life which he treats in the thought of ancient Greece, Old Testament, Stoicism, New Testament, and Augustine, Aquinas, Luther and Calvin provide the context for ethical principles and values. The basic problem of the good life for the good man is that of how the individual is to relate himself to the social order. In his last chapter, "Christian Ethics in a Post-Christian World," he opposes the existentialists' concern for freedom and motivation with an emphasis upon order and office; relating this especially to Calvin's view of the civil order.

Bradley unintentionally, it would seem, raises more questions in the last chapter than he answers. He seems both to accept the "seeming incommunicability of the Christian view of the good man and the good life in our culture" and yet to see "wonderful opportunities" for "sensitizing the leaders of our communities to the pressing social needs that confront us." His discussion is neither clear enough nor full enough to provide even elementary guidance in the effort to do this, however. He seems to

rely upon the power of self-interest on the part of the leaders on one hand and pressures exercised on them by those in responsible positions on the other. While he seeks to develop an objective ethics "based upon the priority of office over him who occupies the office," this has little relevance as a Christian ethic unless a meaningful context for values and ethical principles is developed. The contextualist who recognizes no principle but the "law of love" and the need for drawing on "the wisdom of the ages" (Bradley, p. 153) or who in the situational approach of the new morality "enters into every decision-making moment armed with all the wisdom of the culture" (Joseph Fletcher, quoted in *Time*, March 5, 1965, p. 44) may be contributing to the problem instead of helping to ameliorate it. It recalls the desperate plea of Abner Dean's bewildered hero, "Will the three wise men please step forward?"

It is the strength of Rasmussen's little book that he shows the relevance of the Reformed ethic to economic life today and offers positive suggestions for a revitalized relation of Christian faith and business code of ethical practices; also, that he views the Church as the context of Christian decision-making. It is worth noting that whereas Bradley puts greatest stress on the importance of order and the priority of office over person, he sees the problem as that of reaching the decision maker, the individual leader, whereas Rasmussen asserts that "The organizational revolution has drastically changed the decision-making process from personal decisions to corporate decisions."

American Christian social ethicists are more and more concerned with the church's responsibility to communicate with the "strategic élites" who influence and direct public policy. There is some danger, however, that the prevailing values and assumptions of our culture which determine the context and the limitations of the ethical decisions of our leaders will

not be given sufficient attention by ethicists. This requires more concern for the mission of the church to the ordinary citizen. This may constitute the more demanding and urgent ethical challenge to the Christian church, taking a long look ahead in the direction in which our culture is tending to move. From this point of view, it would seem to the reviewer that Rasmussen has the more balanced and constructive approach to the problems of contemporary society which all three authors recognize and describe in similar terms. Certainly all three reflect the temper of thought of many knowledgeable and sensitive Christian ethicists of our day—cognizant of the bewilderingly complex problems of our society, aware of the prevailing mode of thought which is alien to the traditional categories of the Christian faith, critical of the failures of the Church, and searching for practical and constructive ways to exercise Christian responsibility for the improvement of man's total life. It may still be that the basic problem is one of motivation (contra Bradley), if love of neighbor remains the ethical imperative. If so, ethics must not overlook the person in its concern for the social order.

—Thomas E. McCollough

The Prospects of Christianity Throughout the World. Edited by M. Searle Bates and Wilhelm Pauck. Scribner's. 1964. 286 pp. \$4.95.

"The non-religious, entirely human answer, institutional and sociological, is gloomy—but not utterly so," writes one churchman. "Humanly speaking, the outlook is not very promising. 'There are more dangers than opportunities,'" says another. Yet this realistic, often pessimistic symposium leaves the reader with a challenge and a hope which are fundamental to the Christian faith.

The title is somewhat misleading, for several contributors content themselves with a factual or statistical analysis of the contemporary religious scene and give little attention to

prospects ahead. Other chapters are sheer gems. As could be expected from the author of *Communism and the Theologians*, Charles West's sixteen pages on Eastern Europe contain more profound understanding and sensitive insight into problems and temptations of the Church under Communism than most lengthy books. Charles Malik combines perception with preaching on the Near East. Jose Miguez Bonino, the only Methodist included, gives a clear and balanced picture of Latin America, as does David Moses (one of the World Council Presidents) for India, and John Fleming for South East Asia. In a two-part treatment of the United States Truman Douglass and Robert Handy are excessively preoccupied (even for this 'ecumaniac'!) with denominationalism, psychologically and sociologically.

The names of Daniel Jenkins, Stephen Neill, Christian Baeta, Masao Takenaka and others testify to the authority of the collection. Because most, if not all, of these contributors have been intimately connected with Union Theological Seminary as professors or students, the symposium is appropriately dedicated to Henry P. Van Dusen, distinguished statesman of ecumenical Christianity. The essays will be fascinating to anyone in the least concerned with the universal Church; they ought, however, to be read by every provincial pastor and layman who now neither knows nor cares about the prospects of Christianity throughout the world.

—Creighton Lacy

Living Doctrine In A Vital Pulpit. Merrill R. Abbey. Abingdon. 1964.

The professor of preaching at Garrett is now following up his recent volume on *Preaching to the Contemporary Mind* (cf. review in THE DUKE DIVINITY SCHOOL BULLETIN, November, 1963, p. 244) with a book in which he looks at the preaching event from a perspective intended to supplement the more situation-centered approach taken there. The "flow of

traffic between situation and doctrine" goes in this new work in the opposite direction, from central doctrines to the human scene.

The book falls roughly into two parts. The first four chapters represent a discussion of the need and the rationale, the language and the sources for doctrinal preaching, while the last six chapters focus on some central affirmations in the Christian *kerygma*, attempting to restate and show the relevance of these affirmations in the current situation. Professor Abbey writes easily, his thought is lucid and clear, his illustrations are rich in number and potent in suggestiveness, and his main emphases are sound. But the book is not exciting, simply because its perspective is so—common. Let me explain.

Abbey argues that what people need is "sheer basic (doctrinal) information" (using J. B. Phillips' phrase), "a profoundly theological gospel," an "articulate doctrine," "clearly (a favorite term) stated," "powerfully taught," "strongly (another favorite) preached." And how does the preacher do this? By "telling" it (p. 31).

Too simple? Well, Abbey goes further, of course. He speaks of "teaching winsomely," "making things clear," "planning the progression of one's preaching," "grappling with fresh knowledge," and "being in dialogue with emerging issues and new thought-forms." He even stresses the importance of "dialogue between pastor and congregation." But when one begins to be eager to see how this double dialogue will come out, one finds that Abbey runs away from the deeper issues only to take up some practical suggestions, that the preacher "will have his people constantly before him as he lays out the plan for a year's preaching," and that "wherever he goes among texts, notebooks, ideas, reading, he will ask, 'What does this say to my people's need?'" (p. 43).

Trite? Well, the book gives a great many good prescriptions for a workhorse. It does not propose to analyse the nature of a thoroughbred. There

is no discussion here of the nature of doctrine as such. Religious language is quite rightly seen to be meaningful only on the basis of "religious experience," but the questions about the nature of religious experience and its relation to other human experience are not touched. And when Abbey refers to the Christian *kerygma* as the "referent" of both our religious experience and our religious language, he willingly takes them on face value as "deeds" or "events," not even mentioning the difficulty of deciding what is what, fact and the faith-interpretation of fact, within the kerygmatic event. How can we expect to be able to make doctrine living and the pulpit vital to contemporary man without facing those questions which are really the cause of his religious dullness and intellectual confusion? Is it not true to say that modern man does not simply need someone to tell him what the creed or the *kerygma* say; he needs someone to guide him to understand the *meaning of that which is said?*

Professor Abbey has made an attempt, but he is only partly successful. His book points more in the direction of kerygmatic preaching than doctrinal preaching. He manages to "state clearly" the Christian *kerygma* he is dealing with, but he does not *explain* how these affirmations are to be understood, and so he really never reaches the level of good *teaching*, doctrine.

For those who want to see how the *kerygma* can be restated in the current idiom, however, it is a useful book—as far as it goes. —Thor Hall

Archaeology in Biblical Research.

Walter G. Williams. Abingdon. 1965. 223 pp. \$4.75.

During the last decade a number of new books on Biblical archaeology have appeared. Most of them are expensive, because of the need for pictorial illustration; many of them are highly specialized and rather technical. Thus an inquiring student or an average layman might find the current books beyond his comprehension or the capability of his purse.

In the present work, the author has attempted to make matters plain to the educated reader who has no previous knowledge of the subject, and the publisher has cooperated by creating an inexpensive volume of modest size and format, even adding a few illustrations, maps, and drawings.

The book is divided into three parts. Part I, "Essence of Biblical Archaeology," defines the subject, gives a brief history of it, and describes some of the institutions that carry on archaeological work and publish its results. Notable among these is, of course, the American School of Oriental Research, of which the Duke Divinity School is a corporation member.

Part II, "Aspects of Archaeology," deals with methodologies, such as surface surveys, excavation, accidental discoveries, preservation of exposed antiquities, museum display, and publication. The outstanding case of accidental discovery in recent times is that of the famous Dead Sea Scrolls. In this section, the author takes pains to explain why pottery and even small sherds are so useful to the archaeologist, though they seem dull and senseless to the untutored layman. Here we also learn of the excavator's hazards of snakes, scorpions, dysentery, and malaria.

Part III, "The World in Which the Bible Was Written," occupies most of the volume and portrays the results that are of interest to the author. A few of these results may be mentioned: the inconclusive identification of Mizpah; the conclusive identification of Gibeon; improved knowledge of the chronology of the kings of Israel and Judah; the discovery of the Sumerians and their history; further knowledge of the Hittites; Egyptian and Mesopotamian literary parallels to the Old Testament; new knowledge of musical instruments in the Bible; parallels to Biblical customs or language from Mari, Nuzi, and Ugarit; parallels to Old Testament law from various Mesopotamian codes; decipherment of Egyptian hieroglyphic and Mesopotamian cuneiform writing;

new light on the history of the alphabet; the finding and interpretation of the Dead Sea Scrolls, perhaps the most important of all recent results of archaeological activity.

The author, Professor of Old Testament at the Iliff School of Theology, is not a professional archaeologist, though he has had some experience in the field in trips to the Near East from time to time. He is an outstanding teacher and interpreter of the Bible and it is from this vantage point that he has performed a service for the inquiring student or layman. His book will be useful to a wide circle of readers.—W. F. Stinespring

Genesis, Introduction, Translation, and Notes (Anchor Bible, Vol. I). E. A. Speiser. Doubleday. 1964. lxxvi, 379 pp. \$6.

The Anchor Bible, when the reviewer first heard of it some years ago, was to be an "interfaith" commentary of high quality, the various volumes to be produced by Catholics, Jews, or Protestants with regard only for competence and without regard for theological position. The volumes also were to be issued as paperbacks in order to make them accessible to nearly all students. The first idea seems in a fair way to be realized. The second, however, has been given up, at least for the time being, and several volumes have now appeared as hardbacks at conventional prices. Since thirty-eight volumes have been projected, it will be seen that cost of the entire set may well be more than \$200. The general editors are the distinguished W. F. Albright and his disciple, D. N. Freedman.

One of the first thoughts that come to a reviewer at this point is of the unfairness of reviews like this, based on a few hours of reading in a work that has cost the author many months or years of devoted labor. Yet the effort must be made, and it would be fair to nobody to speak only in terms of praise.

The Introduction is divided into two approximately equal parts: (1) "The Biblical Process," by which the

author means his attitude *vis à vis* Biblical criticism and Biblical theology; and (2), introduction to Genesis specifically. The first part begins by rejecting the fundamentalist idea that Moses wrote all the Pentateuch or any large part thereof. The author then goes on to accept the standard literary analysis into J, E, D, P, and R; he even speaks respectfully of Julius Wellhausen and R. H. Pfeiffer. Thus the rumor that The Anchor Bible would display an anti-critical tendency is shown from the very first to be false. *Mirabile dictu et visu*, in the translation the documents are distinguished from one another by a printing device, probably the first time this has been done in an English translation since Moffatt's Old Testament did it more than forty years ago. Clearly, J, E, D, and P are here to stay at least a while longer, and Speiser is aware of this fact.

Though Speiser rejects such additional symbolism as J¹, J², L, and S, he does suggest one new symbol of his own, namely "T" (in quotation marks), meaning Tradition, to signify the pre-literary stage lying behind J, E, and P. Pfeiffer also speaks of "the traditions common to J and E." Speiser, however, being an expert on Hurrian culture, stresses the Hurrian elements in these traditions, whereas Pfeiffer emphasizes Canaanite material. Speiser has the advantage here of being able to utilize recent researches not available when Pfeiffer wrote.

The second section of the first part of the Introduction is entitled "Genesis of the Biblical Process" and is devoted to the author's special Biblical-theological contribution, namely Abrahamic monotheism. Our readers are familiar with a brand of Mosaic monotheism proposed and defended by the school of Albright (the general editor of this series). Many reputable scholars reject this idea and put the rise of true monotheism much later, say between the eighth and sixth centuries B.C. It is somewhat surprising, therefore, to find the author of this volume putting the origin of

monotheism so early. The author himself knows that there will be raising of eyebrows, and he seeks to ward off objections. Admitting that there is no firm basis for dating Abraham and no proof of his historicity, he yet makes bold to read the hypothetical mind of this hypothetical man. Mosaic monotheism is not the answer, Speiser thinks, because this would be "unthinkable without the prior labors of the patriarchs." But "there had to be a first time, and place, and person"—Abraham. Abraham lived in a polytheistic society; he rebelled against it and came forth with the most important theological concept in history. The Mosaic monotheism of the Albright school was hard for many to take; this will be harder. For one thing, Moses emerges more clearly in history as an individual; no one thinks of Moses as the symbol of a tribe or an eponymous ancestor; but all the patriarchs, from Abraham to Benjamin, have this symbolic and eponymous aspect, as Genesis 49:28 clearly states. This tribal aspect is too much neglected by Speiser throughout the book.

The second part of the Introduction treats of the literary structure of Genesis, the Mesopotamian background of the Primeval History, and problems of exegesis and translation. Lack of space forbids detailed comment on all of these items. Most noteworthy is the discussion of the Mesopotamian background. Speiser is probably the outstanding living authority on this subject, and he here utilizes his vast knowledge most effectively to show why our Bible begins as it does and the meaning of this beginning.

Some of Speiser's theories of translation are to cut loose from dependence on previous versions, to be a bit daring in emendation when necessary, to clarify difficult passages by reference to Mesopotamian parallels, to keep in mind special Hebrew usages such as the intransitive Hiphil and the durative Hithpael, to use up-to-date but simple and correct English, and above all not to translate the same Hebrew word always by the same

English word. This latter is indeed a good rule, like most of the others, but it is overdone here. E.g., a common Hebrew idiom, always meaning the same thing ("to take as a wife") is translated in five different ways. Commendable and interesting is this translator's sensitivity to hendiadys. E.g., 1:2, RSV "without form and void," Speiser "a formless waste"; 12:1, RSV "your country and your kindred," Speiser "your native land"; 24:27, RSV "his steadfast love and his faithfulness," Speiser "his steadfast kindness"; *et alibi*.

The body of the book is of course the translation, arranged in small sections (not coterminous with the chapters), each section followed first by "Notes" then by "Comment." We conclude with a few of the most striking translations, notes, or comments. 1:2—Instead of RSV "the Spirit of God" or "the wind of God" (note), Speiser says "an awesome wind" and gives good parallels to show that the word *Elohim* should not always be translated literally as "God." 1:26—Instead of "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness," Speiser translates "I will make man in my image, after my likeness"; this is the easy way out by refusing to see the problem of the "us." 2:11—The river "winds through the whole land" instead of "flows around the whole land"—a considerable improvement. 2:13—"The land of Cush" here is not Ethiopia but the country of the Kasites, a Mesopotamian people (cf. 10:8). 2:14—Hiddekel is translated into the better known name "Tigris." 10:9—"Nimrod, a mighty hunter by the will of Yahweh." 10:15—"Heth" here means not Hittites but Hurrians (Horites). 11:28—Haran, not Ur, was Abraham's birthplace, according to Speiser; Ur is an intrusion in the text (many will disagree). 12:13—The wife-sister theme in Genesis can only be explained by customs peculiar to the Hurrians. Chapter 14—This chapter cannot be assigned to any of the documents; it stands apart and is from a very early, non-Hebrew source; thus it offers a sort of non-

Hebraic proof of the historicity of Abraham. Chapter 16—A text from Nuzi illuminates the procedure whereby a childless wife provides her husband with a concubine to give him an heir, another instance of Hurrian background. 19:30—Speiser's remark, "Lot and his two daughters had every reason to believe that they were the last people on earth," sounds very modern. 22:1-19—In spite of the use of *Elohim* as the divine name, Speiser feels that this story of the near sacrifice of Isaac is basically from J. Chapter 23—The "children of Heth" in this chapter were probably similar to the Jebusites of Jerusalem, "not only non-Canaanite but non-Semitic as well."

These few examples will serve to show the many interesting and valuable observations in the volume. The author has spoken boldly, and often authoritatively. He cannot convince everybody on every point, but everybody can learn much from this book, and everybody can be grateful to the author for his labors and to the editors and publisher for beginning a new series that will reveal to the general public much knowledge and many insights not found in previous works.—W. F. Stinespring.

Archaeology of the New Testament.
R. K. Harrison. Association. 1964.
xiii + 138 pp. \$3.95.

The aim of this work is an admirable one, to describe ". . . the bearing of archaeology on the New Testament for the general reader, with annotations for the more advanced student" (p. xiii). The author discusses the type and value of archaeological discoveries for our understanding of the Palestinian background out of which Jesus came, of the Gospels, of Paul, and of the growing Church. Additional chapters are included dealing with the Dead Sea Scroll community in Palestine and the Gnostic community in Egypt (Nag Hammadi).

The reviewer feels that this work fails to do what it set out to do, namely to communicate archaeological information to the "general reader."

Some of the blame for this must be placed upon those who placed the notes at the end of the book rather than at the bottom of the page. A second criticism is that the author uses terms (unexplained) which the general reader would probably not understand, i.e. "Hellenization" (p. 22). The tendency to compress has caused the work to be more rather than less difficult to understand.

The reader must be cautioned concerning the error on p. 52, last line. The date there should be 23 *A.D.* rather than *B.C.*—James M. Efrid.

A New Testament History: The Story of the Emerging Church. Floyd V. Filson. Westminster, 1964. xi + 435 pp. XVI Plates (Westminster Maps). \$7.50.

Most students of the New Testament are delighted when they hear of a new book from Floyd V. Filson. They have good reason to be in this latest effort, for it reflects his years of mature and sound scholarship. It is indeed a worthy companion to John Bright, *A History of Israel*.

The aim of this work is to give "the student, the minister, and the serious general reader . . . a connected account of how the church emerged" (p. ix). Professor Filson begins his story with a discussion of the historical and religious background at the time of Antiochus Epiphanes (175 *B.C.*) and continues to the middle of the second century *A.D.* To accomplish this end the author divides the period into five sections: The Background; Jesus, the Central Figure; The Jerusalem Church; Paul the Apostle to Gentiles; and the Church Anchored in History. Incorporated into this historical framework are discussions of the New Testament literature and the problems of the early Church, illustrated by reference to various types of literature, Christian and non-Christian, canonical and non-canonical.

The reader of this work finds many positive aids in addition to Filson's smooth and clear style of writing. The footnotes are numerous and give

sources and direction for further reading. In addition to this one finds a set of the very fine Westminster Maps as well as a correlated chronology (General History with Jewish and Christian History, even though the latter is a bit sketchy at points) and a genealogy of the Herodian Family.

There may be some readers who will not appreciate fully the historical orientation and emphasis of this work. Nevertheless, this is an excellent work, highly readable, and accomplishes its purpose admirably. It would be an excellent work for parish ministers to read to refresh themselves on New Testament history and introduction.

—James M. Efrid

The Composition and Order of the Fourth Gospel. Bultmann's Literary Theory. Dwight Moody Smith, Jr. Yale Press, 1965. 272 pp. \$10.

Readers with little or no facility in German have been hopelessly handicapped in their evaluation of Rudolf Bultmann's exposition of the Fourth Gospel. In his *Theology of the New Testament*, Bultmann derives John's theology from observations concerning the evangelist's sophisticated use of non-Christian, Gnostic source materials, as well as of crassly miraculous traditions of Jesus' ministry. He also excises from the text of John passages which he attributes to an editor who sought to harmonize it with the Church's other gospels, and to conform it to the Church's eschatology and sacramentalism. Until now, Bultmann's method and argument supporting these positions have been inaccessible to English readers. With the publication of this valuable study, an expansion of the author's doctoral dissertation, there is no longer any excuse for an uncritical appropriation or dismissal of Bultmann's impressive interpretation of the theology of the Fourth Evangelist.

Moody Smith (Duke B.D., 1957) has provided a clear exposition of Bultmann's complex theories concerning the production of the Gospel of John. He assumes that the reader has no acquaintance with Bultmann's crit-

ical methods and describes in detail the stylistic, contextual and theological criteria by which Bultmann distinguishes sources from the Fourth Evangelist's annotations and comment. He shows first how Bultmann discovers in the Prologue to the Gospel a major source, the *Offenbarungsreden* (revelation discourses), observing its poetic form, the Semitic quality of its language, its Gnostic mythical motifs. This source is said to underlie many of the discourses in the Gospel, e.g., chapters 3, 5, 10, 14-17. Bultmann also finds in the Prologue's prosaic explanations (1:6-8, 15) telltale characteristics of the evangelist's literary style, manifest throughout the Gospel. These stylistic criteria enable Bultmann to distinguish other written sources: the semeia-source (sign source) which provided most of the miracle stories in chapters 1-12; the passion-resurrection narrative which underlies 18:1-19:41; and, finally, other fragmentary sources akin to Synoptic materials. Smith reconstructs the Greek text of all of these alleged sources.

In a second section, Smith summarizes the critical reactions of numerous scholars, mostly European, to Bultmann's source theory. He has written an important chapter in the history of criticism of the Fourth Gospel, showing clearly that there has not been published a genuine alternative to Bultmann's account of the entire process of John's composition. He concludes, however, that the critical examination of various elements of Bultmann's theory has materially weakened his case. Bultmann's stylistic criteria seem inadequate as a means of separating continuous sources, especially the so-called *Offenbarungsreden*. Bultmann's belief that a Christian evangelist has taken a pre-Christian, Gnostic document, emptied of its mythical meaning, and made it "the theological backbone" of his work is judged to be historically improbable. Also improbable is Bultmann's supposition that a narrative tradition like the hypothetical sign source was circulated

without containing Jesus' words. Smith observes the irony of Bultmann's source criticism, that at the point where his theory "becomes entirely credible" his method is least useful. In the passion narrative, Bultmann "has the greatest difficulty separating the source with precision, and the least success in finding stylistic evidence to undergird his proposal" (p. 113).

The third section of the book examines Bultmann's theory of the textual disruption of the Fourth Evangelist's work, and of its imperfect restoration by "an ecclesiastical redactor," who appended chapter 21. For Bultmann, the most glaring examples of disorder are the position of chapter 6 after chapter 5; the structure of chapter 10; the present isolated position of 12:44-50; and the "obvious" disorder of chapters 13-17. Apparently the redactor was able neither to restore a badly mixed and mangled text nor remove the signs of his failure. Has Bultmann succeeded where the original redactor and later editors have failed? Smith considers this to be unlikely; however, for him it is not enough to conclude that Bultmann's rearrangements cannot be proven. He examines carefully Bultmann's arguments one by one. In each instance he assumes that the burden of proof is upon Bultmann, who "must not only show that his order is preferable but also that the present one is so exceedingly difficult as to be virtually impossible" (p. 130). The Greek text of Bultmann's hypothetical "original" is printed in full.

A final section examines Bultmann's views concerning the theology of the redactor. Smith refuses to dismiss their validity from the perspective of some alternately comprehensive view of John's theology or the development of the ancient Church which he is unable to establish in this study. His judgment is cautious: "when taken as a whole the material assigned to redaction does not present an entirely consistent picture, nor

does it lend unqualified support" to Bultmann's literary theory.

Hopefully this fair presentation and assessment of Bultmann's method, and of the data on which his judgments are based, will lead to other and more satisfactory solutions. The reviewer agrees with the author: "Not until a comparably scientific exegesis of John appears can one rest easy with a substantially different interpretation of the theology of the Fourth Evangelist and his place in the development of Christian thought" (p. 249)—James L. Price.

The Corinthian Church—A Biblical Approach to Urban Culture. William Baird. Abingdon. 1964. 224 pp. \$4.75.

"Some Ethical Issues in First Corinthians" might more appropriately have been the title and purview of Dr. Baird's book. The reference to "urban culture" in the title represents the thesis Dr. Baird has undertaken with little success. On the other hand, the book scores some solid pluses. The ethical issues are skillfully distinguished, and the exposition of Paul's thinking is faithfully narrated. The book also provides an additional helpful commentary on the Epistle, a thorough citation of authorities, and effective application to the life of the contemporary church.

In First Corinthians, Dr. Baird reminds us, Paul responded to several concrete ethical problems plaguing the Achaian church. The church was divided into "Paul," "Apollos," "Cephas" and "Christ" factions because the members were too enamored of their own wisdom and too much inclined to personality cults. The apostle's solution was to urge the "wisdom of God" as opposed to the wisdom of this world and loyalty to God rather than apostles. Dr. Baird suggests that we may have in these Pauline admonitions the platform on the basis of which to move from the divisiveness of denominationalism to Christian unity.

Relationships in the church at Corinth were threatened by incest and

other forms of sexual deviation to which Paul's response was unequivocal. The church must separate sex offenders from itself. However, his ethic becomes relevant for Americans who find themselves in a sex revolution, not in his out-of-hand condemnation of deviation, but in his understanding of the newness of life in Christ and the seriousness of sin in the new humanity—"the corporate personality of the church." Turning to other issues, Dr. Baird says that what Paul deals with under the heading of "idolatry" we experience as secularism and that problems with worship in ancient Corinth and modern megapolis reflect man's failure to understand his relation to God. With the exception of the last few pages of these chapters, the book reflects the work of a journeyman craftsman, but, when he attempts to clinch his thesis, which should not have been undertaken, he apparently moves out of the area of his competence.

It is unfortunate that the book undertakes as its thesis the proposition that the Corinthian church is an analogue of the church in contemporary urban culture characterized by problems and solutions for which there are modern parallels. The implication is that Paul met, grappled with, and offered solutions for the problems of the Corinthian urban culture and that those solutions provide light to illuminate our modern quest for answers to the problems of urbanism. Dr. Baird, however, fails to demonstrate a parallelism between the problems of the Corinthian church and modern urban culture. At most, he succeeds only in convincing us that the modern church has, in some fashion problems like those of the Corinthian church.

To deal with uniquely metropolitan problems, Dr. Baird must face a complex of phenomena that are characteristic of and peculiar to our age. Today's giant city is today's child, born of the enabling inventions of rapid transportation and communication. Mobility makes great concentra-

tions of population possible and curses cities with unwanted by-products. Congestion, automation and impersonal interdependence are problems that must occupy any book aspiring to qualify as an essay on urban culture. *The Corinthian Church* hardly acknowledges the existence of such problems.

From the standpoint of the mass of information presented, the book is impressive. The style is readable and lucid. In each chapter the reader is led through a careful study of the text under consideration to conclusions that are wrought out with patience and careful discrimination. The fact is that these essays should be and undoubtedly will be the bases of many sermons dealing with the ethical issues they discuss.—James M. Efrid.

The Epistles of James, Peter, and Jude. (Anchor Bible, Vol. 37) By Reicke. Doubleday. 1964. xxxviii, 221 pp. \$5.

This is Volume 37 of The Anchor Bible. It is the first to appear of thirteen New Testament volumes (26-38). (See review on page 154.)

The aim of this new series to make the Bible "accessible to the modern reader" cannot be considered a novel purpose, however worthy. The content of this initial volume "is not meant to be overly technical," and indeed it is not. No Greek print is used and where Greek terms are needed in footnotes they are transliterated. Yet this early volume does not promise a "popular" or layman's commentary, either. It is notable that Reicke (although he knows English well) composed in his native Swedish, which has been translated by Professor A. V. Wallenkampf.

The format of the new series is traditional too: introduction, translation, commentary. Reicke's strongest point is translation, the most satisfying element of his volume. The introduction element, however, is disappointing, for it turns back the calendar several decades, so as to invalidate in the view of many scholars much of the discussion. Furthermore, whereas

the author emphasizes the judgment that "the political and social problems of their time were of extraordinary importance to both the writers and the readers of these epistles," little use is made of such knowledge in the exegesis of the text. The commentary does not demonstrate the principle that environmental circumstances are reflected in the epistles and are relevant to their understanding. Indeed, the provenance of these four epistles remains so unsettled that we scarcely know what environment to appeal to; and Reicke explains of Jude that "the actual place of origin does not greatly matter."

The commentary element would serve far better if larger scope had been permitted, especially for a non-technical reader. One misses an adequate discussion of the theological messages of these epistolary homilies. The background of docetic and gnostic thought deserves primary attention. The issue of "persecution" is not adequately weighed, even for an abbreviated report. If such factors were fully considered, it would become impossible to maintain the ultra-conservative position that all the New Testament documents were written before A.D. 100, and that First Peter appeared before A.D. 64. The view that Second Peter and Jude were about A.D. 90 derived from a common oral source does not adequately account for the extensive and close literary kinship between them (Cf. Moffatt, *Introduction*, pp. 348-352). Completely disregarded is the new question thus raised: how shall we account for the origin of that earlier "oral source"—when, where, why, what circumstances called it forth, and why did it again become useful in two settings about A.D. 90? This is one of the elements in the highly conjectural reconstruction of the environment of these four epistles. It should have been reported also that the new Bodmer Papyrus (No. 72), written in the third century, is now (since 1959) our earliest witness to the text of Jude and First and Second Peter.—Kenneth W. Clark.

DUKE DIVINITY SCHOOL SUMMER CLINICS

July 19-30, 1965

Three clinics, running concurrently, will be conducted at the Duke Divinity School, July 19-30. These are designed for B.D. graduates who are willing to participate in two weeks of intensive training. A minister may enroll in *only one* clinic. Registration is open to ministers of all denominations. No academic credit is given.

PREACHING: The clinic will concern itself mainly with principles of sermon construction and delivery, giving ample opportunity for the participants to preach for critique. Matters of common concern for preachers will be discussed in plenary sessions. (Dr. Thor Hall, Director)

PASTORAL

CARE:

The clinic in Pastoral Care has as its focus the Christian faith and its expression of and ministry to selfhood. Through lectures, group discussions, and hospital visitation experiences, explorations are made of the meaning of selfhood, the self in crisis, and the ministry to those caught in the crisis of illness. (Dr. Richard A. Goodling, Director)

RURAL

CHURCH:

The Rural Church Clinic will consist of intensive training, study, and planning in the area of the church's responsibilities in the town and country community, giving particular emphasis to the development of an indigenous leadership. (Dr. M. Wilson Nesbitt, Director)

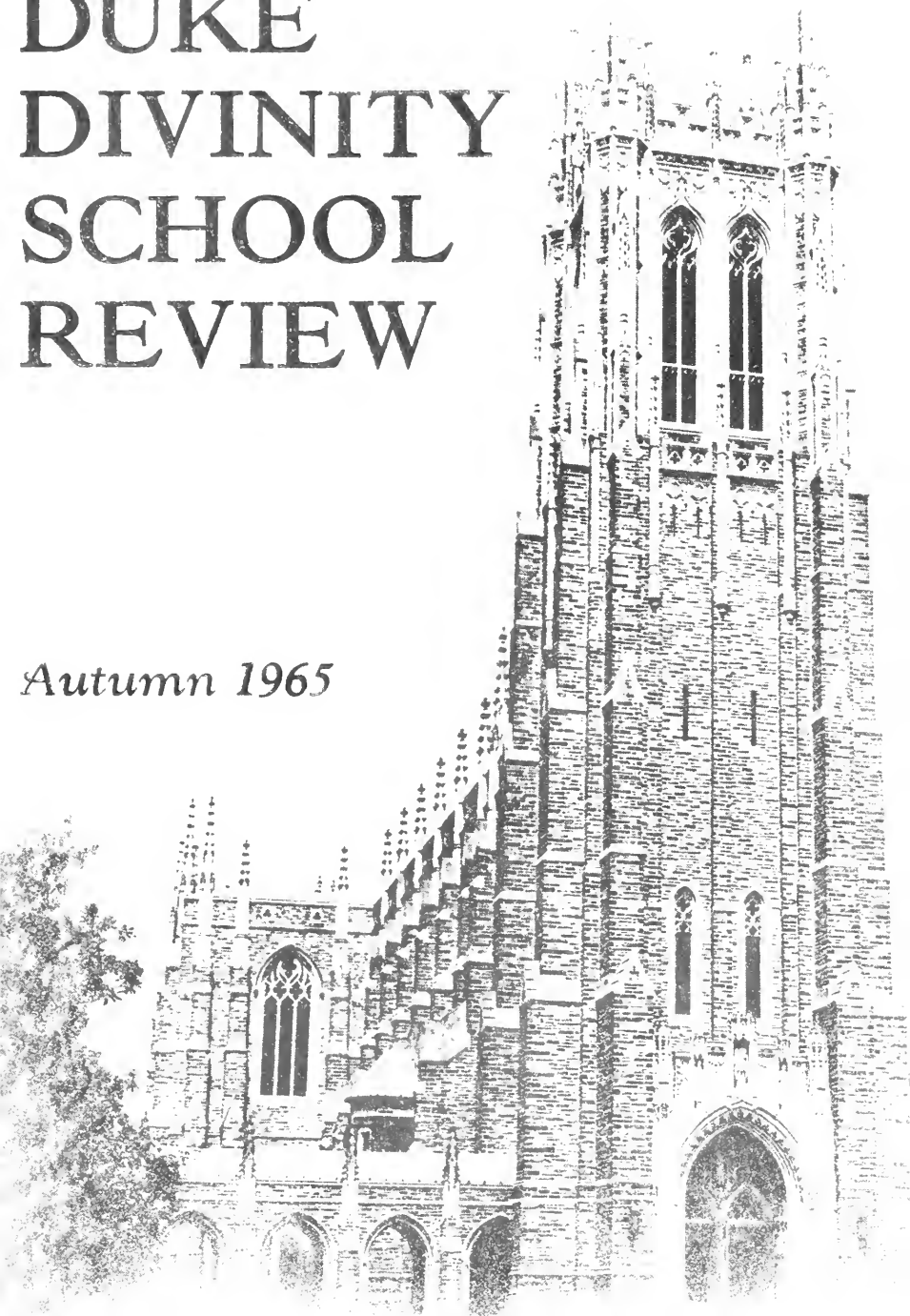
The guest lecturer, who will give a series of four lectures during the second week of the program for all three clinics, is Dr. Creighton Lacy, Professor of World Christianity in The Divinity School and author of a book published this winter, *The Conscience of India*.

For full information write to: Summer Clinics, Duke Divinity School, Box 4814, Duke Station, Durham, North Carolina, 27706.

Costs: Registration Fee \$10.00; Room, Board, and Travel. Methodist Ministers in North Carolina may inquire about special grants provided by the Rural Church Department of the Duke Endowment or the Board of Hospitals and Homes of the Annual Conference to cover costs.

THE DUKE DIVINITY SCHOOL REVIEW

Autumn 1965



A Sacristy Prayer

O Lord God, dear Father in heaven, I am indeed unworthy of the office and ministry in which I am to make known Thy glory and nurture and to serve this congregation. But since Thou has appointed me to be a pastor and teacher, and the people are in need of the teachings and the instructions, O be Thou my helper and let Thy holy angels attend me. Then if Thou art pleased to accomplish anything through me, to Thy glory and not to mine or to the praise of men, grant me, out of Thy pure grace and mercy, a right understanding of Thy Word and that I may, also, diligently perform it. O Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, Thou Shepherd and Bishop of our souls, send Thy Holy Spirit that He may work with me, yea, that He may work in me to will and to do through Thy divine strength according to Thy good pleasure. Amen.

—MARTIN LUTHER

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The Substance and Changing Forms of the Ministry

ROBERT E. CUSHMAN

I.

The ministry is the same, yesterday, today, and forever. It is so because Jesus Christ is the same yesterday, today, and forever. Jesus Christ is known to us in and through his ministry. His ministry is the sole justification of our ministry. There is no other. But the shape of our ministry may and does change. Indeed, it must change. We may well be stumbling blocks, possibly even enemies of Christ's ministry, when we keep trying to discharge the ministry in some age-encrusted form moulded by unchallenged precedent. For the ministry is both a calling and a task, and how it is discharged is a resultant of two things: what the ministry is in itself (that is, the calling) and how the shape of things in the world governs the mode of its fulfillment. That is the task, and in history it keeps changing.

First of all, however, we must understand that the ministry to which we are conscious of call and toward which today we are looking with new earnestness will be an authentic ministry in so far as it recapitulates Christ's ministry. It is, of course, in this sense that I mean Christ's ministry is the only ministry we have and that, in point of fact, there is really no other.

The central aim of theological education is to clarify the nature of this ministry, that we may one and all be grasped by it and galvanized for its fulfillment in us. Each must discover for himself—and then keep on rediscovering—what St. Paul meant by “this treasure we have in earthen vessels.” The treasure surely includes “this ministry.” It is ours not so much to possess as to discharge, and not so much to discharge as to be possessed and controlled by.

We must surely also learn to understand St. Paul's meaning when he called this surrender of our existence “the ministry of reconciliation” (II Cor. 5:18). If so, it presupposes, of course, that reconcilers, first of all, are reconciled. In the New Testament that means,

The address given at the opening Divinity School Convocation, September 23, 1965.

reconciled to God and also to our neighbor. What reconciliation means with reference to both God and the neighbors keeps needing to be re-understood and reappropriated.

However, for our purposes here it suffices to say that, upon whom it falls to be reconciled, there comes also the calling to be *reconciler*. None of the reconciled is excepted. None is exempted from service. This is the perennial truth in the Reformation watchword, "the priesthood of all believers." All who are receivers of grace and know forgiveness are also mediators of grace and forgiveness.

It is a fearful reminder of Jesus that they shall be "known by their fruits." The American savage was wont to count his scalps. The Gospel preacher of the same age might not scruple to count the "souls" won under his charge. Too often, the best we dare today is to count the members on our rolls! Positivism has perhaps convinced us that souls are invisible magnitudes, hardly capable of numeration! But, somehow or other, the fruits are to be known if, indeed, as our Lord warned, we are to be known by our fruits. And this being known is not limited to professionals; it applies to all the reconciled equally, all of whom, equally, receive "the ministry of reconciliation."

When St. Paul said God reconciled us to himself through Christ "and gave us the ministry of reconciliation," he was not referring to professionals, to a class of Christians, or to an order of clerics. Primarily, at least, he was referring to *all* who, through Christ, had been reconciled to God, that is, all those who know God, not as Judge but as Father, not as condemned but as accepted, and not as despairing but as full of hope, and not as aimless but as charged with a divine vocation.

This utterly new vocation is given to all believers, according to Paul. It charges life with dynamic for a superhuman task. It penetrates human life with a transcendent purpose, and thus breaks through the "eternal recurrence" of the ancient view of history. In so far as Christian believers were made partners with Christ in the ministry of reconciliation, history acquired direction and meaning. It was transfigured by an end and purpose, never to be exhausted in history and only to be fulfilled beyond history.

Nevertheless, history was transfigured. The Incarnation, the ministry of Jesus Christ, invaded the circular plane of history and conferred meaning and purpose upon it, first in Christ himself, then through those to whom was given and who received the ministry of reconciliation. In and through this conjoint ministry, that of Jesus Christ and

that of the reconciled, the *Eschaton* replaced the tedium, the eternal recurrence of goalless history. Therewith, history itself became end-directed as well as end-controlled. The homelessness of man in the world was relieved by deathless partnership with the Eternal. It had been inaugurated in Time by this ministry.

II.

These are some of the things that may be discovered by those who will probe the meaning of "this ministry." Christ's ministry created and still creates a *telos* for history and, thus, bestows meaning upon it. The ministry persists today. It is still given. It may be received. If it is received, then its nature and essence are also given. That essence is Jesus Christ, known in his ministry. But its mode of discharge, the manner of its fulfillment, is not the same yesterday, today, and forever. Our problem today, indeed for centuries past, is that ministry has been tied to stereotyped forms and modes.

How long shall we describe the hardening of tradition? It would take long. For one thing, ministry has come to mean a dichotomy among Christians, that between reconciled and reconcilers there are the "clergy" and there are the "laity"—the priesthood and the faithful. Between them a functional diversity long since became a *difference in kind*. It is this difference in kind between clergy and laity which is a chief, perhaps *the* chief, issue to be faced by the ecumenical movement of the next half-century.

The difference in kind is closely associated with the *cultus*, with Christian worship—the preaching of the Word as well as the celebration and administration of the sacraments. With whom, with what order of believers, does either prerogative or authority lie in these matters? The question is immensely complicated. Experience proves that the question is baffling and answers conflicting.

Today I am interested in a particular bondage to tradition indigenous to Protestantism and very much with us. In Protestantism the shape of the ministry was early impoverished by a narrowing of the function of the ministry. The minister became preacher and exhorter. In American evangelical Protestantism from the eighteenth century onwards, the minister of Christ became the "preacher." He is still "the preacher" in common American parlance. Indeed, so peremptory and controlling is the title that it not only largely constitutes the image but, in great measure, it determines the role and function of the

American Protestant minister. The prevailing dichotomy is "preachers" and laity, or the pulpit and the pew. It is this narrowing and, I think, impoverishment of the glorious ministry by the tyranny of the preacher-concept that deserves scrutiny and candid re-evaluation in our time and place.

III.

The Reformation gave the Bible, the opened Bible, back to Christendom. That has proved to be a revolution in Christianity and, indeed, the basis of recurring ecclesiastical and theological change. In light of this experience and history it is not strange perhaps that some Catholic conservatives view with dismay all those declarations and actions of the Second Vatican Council which enlarge the use of the Scripture among the faithful. To the conservatives it is cause for grave misgivings and concern.

With the Reformation, however, already in the sixteenth century, the appeal of Scripture against ecclesiastical tradition enthroned the principle *sola Scriptura*, and one consequence was a new and controlling conception of the ministry. The Reformation did not, however, dethrone professionalism in the ministry despite its stress upon "the priesthood of all believers." It altered the role and function of the ministry. The shape was changed. The Bible was opened. The ministry became the ministry of the Word, and its vehicle was preaching. Not that preaching was unknown before, rather, it now became the chief instrumentality of ministry—its presiding function—and the minister was destined to become primarily preacher.

In the first two centuries of reformed Christianity the preacher was also, and with remarkable frequency, a learned and accomplished scholar. Often his Biblical knowledge, classical learning, and theological competence were extraordinary. His command of Biblical as well as classical languages was as astonishing as it was widespread. The seventeenth century produced theological erudition among clergy on a scale and measure never before nor since approximated. In that century, it seems, the Protestant ministry rose with a great impulse to accept and make the most of its new challenge and role as ministers of the sacred mysteries which had lately been opened.

It was appropriate that in the Reformed churches the minister became the "teaching elder." The neglected deposit of divine truth, obscured by long neglect, awaited probing, clarification, and enunciation. It required communication to men not a little eager for larger

comprehension of the Sacred Word. The Word was the way and surety of salvation: "Break, thou, the bread of life, dear Lord, to me" was no idle petition.

In the eighteenth century men still thirsted for the Sacred Word. On horseback and on foot they sought out Whitefield in Connecticut or Wesley at Bristol with the kind of eagerness and even hectic effort that, today, we Americans reserve for Saturday afternoon football games in October.

In the early nineteenth century in America, probably the greatest public phenomenon was the Camp Meeting on the frontier or in more settled coastal areas. Here the Word of God was opened for men's eternal comfort. The key person was the preacher. He need not be a scholar. He had, however, to be possessed himself of the rudiments of the faith, not in the fine articulations of doctrinal theology, but in the bones and sinews of his own personal experience.

He knew his Bible after a fashion. He was afire. He was eloquent if not always grammatical. He was *the preacher*, and through his words the Word of God got lodgement in the souls of hearers, often with both convulsive and transforming power. The place of worship was an open amphitheater of trees. The vaulted heavens were the dome of nature's vast cathedral, in which the sacrament of the Word was alone celebrated in almost complete isolation from every device, appointment, or formality of traditional Christian worship.

There were three visible realities in this scene: the *Bible*, the *preacher*, and the *people*. Invisible, but no less present, were the Word of God and the Spirit that confirmed its truth to the hearts and minds of the contrite. It is this scene, with its visible and invisible realities, which once controlled and in great measure still controls the conception of church and ministry in American evangelical Protestantism. Popular Protestant ecclesiology even today requires hardly more visible and invisible components than these: the Bible, the preacher, and the people, and invisibly present—if indeed there is so much Christian understanding—the Word of God and the Holy Spirit. As for the doctrine of the ministry, so powerful even yet is this nineteenth-century image that it still—despite all the overlay of accumulated twentieth-century functions—is pretty much simply the preacher.

IV.

My question is: when will American evangelical Protestantism become candid enough openly to acknowledge an anachronism? When

will American Protestantism undertake a critical up-dating both of its frontier ecclesiology and of its traditional and extemporary notion of the ministry? I am convinced that, because it has failed to do so, replacements for ministerial ranks are ominously thinning. In part, the heart of the problem is that the form and shape of the ministry has been stereotyped by the nineteenth-century role and context of the ministry. The *form* has become "sacred" rather than the *substance*. The substance, which is unchanging, has been obstructed and obscured by roles and functions that are transient. The relative has been absolutized.

This is the ancient temptation of the church in all ages respecting its ministry. It was so when a sacerdotal priesthood, as function, was rendered *identical* with Christ's ministry in its substance. No historically conditioned function or functions can exhaust the *substance* of Christ's ministry entrusted to us. This means that of no one or more of them can it be claimed they merit the dignity of identity. Thus none of them is sacrosanct. They are, one and all, more or less adequate vehicles of the Word of God to men. And the latter is the ministry of Jesus Christ.

Such a word as this to you who enter the Divinity School or continue your studies in it ought not to end without a definite suggestion. It is a suggestion I shall have to enlarge upon, perhaps at a subsequent Convocation. It is this: in our time, place, and culture the shape of the ministry needs to be more nearly that of *teacher* than of *preacher*. There will always be the time and place of proclamation. The pulpit must not be abandoned but properly filled. But the pulpit in Protestantism has become well-nigh as remote from the people as, in medieval Catholicism, the altar was remote, forbidden, and forbidding to them.

The reasons for this are wide-ranging, intricate, and many-sided. But this which I believe to be true means that, in our time and situation, the pulpit and the preaching role may be inadequate and even faltering vehicles of the ministry of the Word of God. At the very least, the pulpit must become far less the place of declamation and far more the place of teaching and vision.

You may one day become a great preacher. I hope you will. But I express the view, which is also a warning, that the great preacher of tomorrow will not be a stereotype of the great preachers of yesterday. No overlay of unction or native or acquired eloquence, aping the past, will assure you of a resonant audience tomorrow. Nineteenth-

century eloquence presupposed, perhaps correctly, more from its audience in understanding and vital concern than a twentieth-century congregation can ordinarily muster. Modern man is de-moralized, proportionately ignorant, doubly sophisticated, and surfeited with panaceas. He is at once spiritually homeless and remarkably at home in the world. Above all, he does not know presently whether there is need to look seriously for a transcendent reference for life beyond its given exasperations and, on the whole, its sufficient joys.

When you enter the pulpit, it is to this man you speak despite his membership cards. There is distance between you. It is not all of your making. But the pulpit is almost this man's spiritual antipodes, and you are in it! How will you diminish the distance and overleap the chasm? When you declaim and exhort, it is not so much that your words go over his head or pass him by as that some words just don't reach him. Sometimes the difference of a whole universe of purpose, interest, or discourse lies between you. You may well be answering questions he is not asking any more, or has not yet thought to ask. And even if your answers awake glimmers of comprehension of the importance of questions for which they are the answers, still they are pulpit questions and answers that presume an authority which tends to make you curiously other and apart.

In the pulpit and out of it, in every possible context, in all areas of your pastoral service and work, your role today is more nearly teacher and confessor than pulpit declaimer. You will teach by *listening*, by asking the right questions, by throwing others back more than by declaration. You will put more trust in public and private prayer than in high-styled eloquence. But if these things are so, then you also have a great deal to learn beforehand, and all the time, about the real substance of your ministry. You have to know above all else what it is that constitutes the ministry of Jesus Christ, who he is, and how and in what ways, as his successor, you are related to him. I suggest that this is an enormous task, and presupposing the enlightening assistance of the Holy Spirit, we are, in this place, especially charged to get at it. I welcome you to the task today, and wish for you very rich fruitions tomorrow, next year, and in all the years ahead.

Calendar of Public Lectures

Eleven o'clock Assembly in York Chapel

December 8—LIBRARY LECTURE, Dr. Elizabeth Sewell,
author, Salisbury, England.

January 5—Dr. G. Paul Butler, editor of *Best Sermons*.

February 9—MISSION LECTURE, Mrs. Porter Brown,
Executive Secretary, Methodist Board of Missions.

February 16—Prof. Alexander A. DiLella, O.F.M., Holy
Name College, Washington, D.C.

March 16—Dr. Alan F. Geyer, Executive Secretary, Council
for Social Action, United Church of Christ.

April 20—Mr. William Stringfellow, Counsellor at Law, New
York City.

May 11—FACULTY LECTURE, Prof. Frank Baker.

John Carlisle Kilgo as a Christian Educator

PAUL N. GARBER

Bishop of the Raleigh Area, The Methodist Church

Bishop John Carlisle Kilgo was born in a Methodist parsonage, and it was in the home of his good parents that he received the first principles of Christian education. His father, James Tillman Kilgo, represented the highest type of Methodist circuit rider of his day, and although he had been denied educational advantages he was determined to educate his own children. "I will live on bread and water and wear patched clothes," he declared, "before I will throw my children on society uneducated." In order to do this he economized in every way. Although his annual salary never exceeded seven hundred dollars, yet all his children were able to secure some college education.

Although the greater part of his life was spent in the work of Christian education, John Carlisle Kilgo never received what could be considered a regular college education. Because of the weakness of his eyes he was forced to leave Wofford College at the end of his sophomore year. His only other formal education was a course of private study under Professor Henry N. Snyder, later president of Wofford College. Although his college training was obtained in an unusual manner, Kilgo continued his education throughout life by copious reading. He became a studious man and by his own efforts he was able to remedy the loss which he had suffered from his interrupted college course.

Upon leaving Wofford College Kilgo followed in the footsteps of his father and in 1882 joined the South Carolina Conference. From 1882 to 1888 Kilgo served as pastor and made such a unique record as a young preacher that he was called upon by his conference, in 1888, to become the financial agent of Wofford College. Although this appointment came as a surprise to Kilgo, he entered immediately with vigor into his new work. He became the spokesman of the college at

An address delivered at the dedication of the John Carlisle Kilgo Porch of the Divinity School, May 12, 1965.

official Methodist gatherings in South Carolina. He not only explained the needs of Wofford College to the various district conferences, but visited also the local churches and proclaimed the cause of Christian education. His most immediate task was the raising of funds for Wofford College, and his labors in this field had the effect of making it possible for the faculty members of Wofford College to receive their entire salaries for the first time since 1865. While serving as financial agent Kilgo became a member of the faculty of Wofford College and thereby had contacts not only with the constituency of the college but also with student life on the campus.

The six years during which he served as agent of Wofford College proved to be valuable years for Kilgo, for during that period he formed many of his basic educational ideals . . . views which he later put into practice as president of Trinity College. He came to the following conclusions: (1) That a great college could not be built in the South upon popular subscription, because as he contended, the average Southerner could not visualize the large amount of money needed for higher education. (2) Kilgo came to realize that the Southern colleges would always be handicapped if the weakness of preparatory education and low standards of higher education continued. (3) He came to the conclusion that the Methodists at the close of the nineteenth century were not aware of their educational duty. He deplored the lukewarmness of the church toward higher education. (4) He came to formulate a basic educational concept, namely, that true higher education could only be secured at institutions conducted under Christian auspices. He declared that mental culture at the expense of spiritual development would ever be at a discount.

At the time when Kilgo was becoming prominent as a Methodist educational leader in South Carolina, the presidency of Trinity College at Durham, North Carolina, became vacant, and attention was given to Kilgo as a good prospect for the presidency. A special committee of the Board of Trustees interviewed Kilgo at Wofford College, and upon the recommendation of this committee, the Board of Trustees on July 31, 1894 elected Kilgo as president of Trinity College. Sixteen days after his election Kilgo reached Durham and immediately assumed the supervision of the affairs of Trinity College. From that date until July 1, 1910 Kilgo was president of Trinity College, and during that period the life of the institution and the activities of the president were so closely interwoven that Trinity and Kilgo became almost synonymous terms.

Trinity College, to which Kilgo came as president in 1894, was founded in 1838 by Quakers and Methodists in Randolph County who desired a school to provide for their local educational needs. The name first given to this school was Union Institute but was changed in 1851 to Normal College. In 1858 the North Carolina Conference was asked to assume control of Normal College, and accordingly in 1859 a new charter was secured and the name of the institution was changed to Trinity College. Under the leadership of Braxton Craven, and with the patronage of the Methodists, the college had a fair degree of prosperity until the outbreak of the War Between the States when this institution, like other Southern colleges, felt the hard effects of war and reconstruction. In 1887 John Franklin Crowell became the president of Trinity College, and perhaps the greatest contribution which he made to Trinity College was to remove it from the small town of Trinity to Durham. This was accomplished by September, 1892, through the generous financial assistance of two Methodist laymen of Durham, Washington Duke and Julian S. Carr.

Notwithstanding the advantage to the college of its removal to Durham, no sooner had the transfer been made than the institution became involved in a number of embarrassing difficulties. The major problem was financial and this was aggravated by the panic of that period. A situation soon developed until there was a feeling among the most loyal supporters that the institution might have to close. The college seemed also to be losing the support of one of its benefactors, Washington Duke. The morale of Trinity College was at a low ebb when Kilgo assumed the presidency, but this situation did not discourage Kilgo and to him, therefore, belongs the credit of the rebuilding of Trinity College.

When Kilgo became president of Trinity College, the endowment was less than \$25,000, and the value of the property did not exceed \$200,000. For sixteen years Kilgo served as president of Trinity College, and when he retired Trinity College had the largest endowment of any Southern college and had assets to the amount of one and a quarter million dollars. The story is familiar to all Southern Methodists of how Kilgo inspired Washington Duke and his sons with the vision of a greater Trinity College. From 1896 to 1910 Washington Duke and his sons, Benjamin Newton and James Buchanan, made such liberal contributions to Trinity College that in contrast with most Southern educational institutions, it became free from serious financial

problems. In 1910 Kilgo could declare that Trinity College could obtain all funds necessary for future expansion.

The securing of a large endowment for Trinity College was only one phase of the rebuilding of Trinity College under Kilgo's leadership. During his presidency academic standards were raised beyond those of the average Southern college or university, and Trinity College by 1903 could boast of a modern library building and adequately equipped laboratories. Trinity College also became noted for an outstanding faculty, for leadership in female education in the South, for elevating the standards of legal education, for scholarly publications, for interest in secondary education, for opposition to professionalism in inter-collegiate athletics, and for upholding academic freedom. It is interesting to note that when the Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools of the Southern States was founded for the purpose of maintaining high educational standards in the South Trinity College was the only institution of college status that was a charter member. Kilgo proved from 1894 to 1910 that he was an educational executive capable of rebuilding Trinity College upon modern and firm foundations.

John Carlisle Kilgo made a great contribution to Christian education by bringing material resources to Trinity College, but he did even a greater thing for Christian education by holding that a true Christian educator had to be a leader of the people; that he had to be in advance of popular opinion. Kilgo refused to be simply the spokesman for an existing order of things but instead held before the students and constituency of Trinity College a picture of what should be in a Christian society.

As president of Trinity College Kilgo championed many causes which were not popular seventy years ago, but which today are accepted by the majority of Southern people. Although born in the South, Kilgo became a severe critic of Southern conservatism and he held that it was the task of Southern colleges to help the people break from the conservatism of the past. During his administration Kilgo repeatedly announced that the duty of Trinity College was to make public opinion rather than follow it, and he never abandoned his purpose of making Trinity College an institution that dared, if necessary, to oppose public opinion. In Kilgo's opinion the search for truth was the primary task of an educational institution, and he held that truth should be accepted wherever it might be found. Another fundamental conception believed by Kilgo was that the influence of an educational

institution should be responsibly related in an active way to all problems of society. "It is not believed at Trinity College," he asserted, "that the place of a college is apart from the questions of trade, of society, of politics and of religion. On the contrary it is believed that participation in those affairs is a distinct duty of a college." Kilgo held that educational institutions should not allow fear of adverse criticism to keep them from taking a stand on controversial problems. Kilgo especially resented political interference in Southern colleges and universities. Although he was born in 1861 and was reared in South Carolina during the reconstruction period, under his leadership Trinity College became noted for the championship of nationalism. According to Kilgo, sectionalism and provincialism were two primary curses of the Southern people. He severely attacked the Southern political leaders who made use of the sectional issues, and he demanded a new leadership that would throw aside this emotional appeal. Kilgo held that it was absurd for individuals to become permanently aligned with any one political party, and instead championed the cause of the independent voter. It was Kilgo's earnest desire to create a spirit at Trinity College that would counteract the prevailing bitter Southern partisanship. From the chapel platform he begged the students not to become narrow partisans. Kilgo took a pronounced stand in favor of the industrial development of the South and at a time when the Southern industrial leaders were being severely assailed Kilgo defended them. He denounced the demagogues who were taking advantage of Southern industrial development to arouse class hatred. Kilgo's views were many years in advance of Southern thought concerning the Negro. He took a liberal attitude regarding the relationship of the two races in the South. Trinity College, under Kilgo's leadership, became noted for an honest attempt to solve the racial issue. The first speech ever delivered by Booker T. Washington on the platform of a white Southern educational institution was made at Trinity College under the invitation of Kilgo.

It was fortunate for Kilgo that he was a crusader and fighter, for many of his principles were in advance of public opinion in the South and ran counter to existing public sentiment in North Carolina. In the decade following 1894 political passions were strong in North Carolina, and crude methods were used to dispose of an unorthodox leader. It was still a period of intense sectionalism. During the last decade of the nineteenth century the Negro was removed from political life in North Carolina and that made very delicate any discussion of the

racial issue. Kilgo championed the industrial development of the Southern states at a time when opposition to large industries was rife in North Carolina. The Old North State in 1894 had not yet accepted the principle of academic freedom. It was heresy to hold that an educational institution was free to proclaim truth if it were opposite to the prevailing public sentiment.

Kilgo's program to make Trinity College a progressive and free institution where academic freedom would prevail did not succeed without a struggle on Kilgo's part. During the entire period of his presidency he was compelled to fight against those individuals who would deny academic freedom to an educational institution. As early as 1897 a determined effort was made to remove Kilgo from the presidency on the ground that as president of Trinity College he was expressing views that were contrary to the public opinion of the state. His main opponent asserted that no college could teach political, social and economic views that were counter to those held by the majority of the citizens. Kilgo held that such a policy would result in intellectual decay, for no progress could be made if professors were to be tied to the opinions of the past, many of which were proving to be false in the face of new investigations. It was in his famous speech of defense before the Board of Trustees in 1897 that Kilgo proclaimed in these words his views of academic freedom at Trinity College: "By the eternals, she shall be free. No political power, nor any other, shall ever chain her, but over and above everything else she shall answer to God and obey the truth, and that is what they do not want."

Kilgo weathered the attack upon him in 1897, but six years later in 1903 he again had to defend academic freedom at Trinity College in what is known as the famous Bassett episode. Professor John S. Bassett in a discussion in the *South Atlantic Quarterly* of the Negro situation in the South made certain statements which were contrary to Southern public opinion in regard to the racial issue. There were individuals in North Carolina who refused to accept the point of view presented by Professor Bassett, and in addition they were determined to deny him the freedom of expressing such opinions, and if necessary boycott the educational institution that employed him. Those of us who live sixty years removed from the Bassett episode have a difficult time understanding the campaign of ridicule, vilification and vituperation that descended upon Trinity College. A demand arose in the press for the removal of Bassett from the faculty of Trinity College, and along with this was the cry that Kilgo retire from the presidency

of the college. North Carolinians were urged to boycott Trinity College unless Bassett were removed.

The Bassett episode reached such large proportions that the Board of Trustees was forced to meet in special session on December 1, 1903 in order to face this matter. Kilgo appeared before the Board of Trustees and in a speech of more than one hour in length, in what has been described as "unsurpassed eloquence," he presented to the Trustees the real issue of academic freedom as it was involved in the Bassett episode. Kilgo declared that he did not agree with all of Bassett's views, but he pointed out that the problem before the trustees was not to pass upon the action of an individual, but to settle forever the attitude of Trinity College toward academic freedom. Kilgo admitted that the college might lose patronage by refusing to remove Bassett. "But, gentlemen," he continued, "if the worst must come to the worst, I have no hesitancy in saying that it were better that Trinity College should work with ten students than it should repudiate and violate every noble principle of the Christian religion, the high virtues of this commonwealth, and the foundation spirit of this nation . . . Personally I should deem it an honor to teach ten men who love truth and believe in tolerance, and I should count it a shame to teach a thousand who believed in intolerance and regarded intellectual bondage a commendable virtue." Again he declared: "Personally, I should prefer to see a wild hurricane break out of some awful fastness and sweep from the face of the earth every rock and brick and piece of timber, than to see Trinity College committed to the policies of the Inquisition, and the note of liberty be forever stricken from her tongue." He concluded his address with these famous words: "Better forgive and die, than hate and live; better be tolerant and cease to be than to be intolerant in luxurious prosperity; better persuade and be forgotten than to coerce and be applauded." Furthermore Kilgo was willing to stake his own future on the principles enunciated in his address on academic freedom. His relationship with Trinity College would have ended if the trustees had accepted Bassett's offer of resignation, for while he was delivering his plea for academic freedom Kilgo had in his pocket his own resignation, ready for presentation to the Board of Trustees in case of an adverse decision in regard to Bassett.

The educational world will never forget the famous decision of the Board of Trustees in the Bassett episode. In the face of hostile public opinion the trustees not only refused to accept the proposed resignation of Bassett, but also issued the historical declaration of

academic freedom held by Trinity College. In this declaration the trustees declared that any form of coercion of thought and private judgment was contrary to one of the constitutional aims of Trinity College, which was to cherish a sincere spirit of tolerance. The trustees under Kilgo's leadership aligned themselves with the forces of academic freedom. Nobly they asserted: "Great as is our hope in this college, high and noble as are the services which under God we believe it is fit to render, it were better that Trinity College should suffer than that it should enter upon a policy of coercion and intolerance."

Great academic achievements represent the work of many individuals and no claim is made that academic freedom was secured at Trinity College by the singlehanded activity of John Carlisle Kilgo. He built upon the foundations laid by his predecessors. He had the assistance of a great faculty and noble benefactors, and he was supported by a liberal Board of Trustees. It must, however, be admitted that, by Kilgo's determination that an educational institution should guide public opinion rather than be moulded by it, he kept alive at Trinity College a liberal academic spirit; and when the Bassett episode occurred he did not shirk his responsibility. When Kilgo retired as president of Trinity College in 1910, he left behind a free college as a monument to his labors.

The contributions of John Carlisle Kilgo to Christian education cannot be told alone by the rebuilding of Trinity College or by his fight for academic freedom. Kilgo can be designated as a Christian educator because he actually proclaimed Christian education. His definition of Christian education was "education that assumes Christ's estimate of all things, and seeks to develop manhood in the light of His ideals, and by His methods, and inculcates His truths as the fundamental truths of personal and social character." Kilgo asserted that Christian education presented the only true conception of human nature. Since the most catholic character of history was Christ, Kilgo contended that the broadest education was that based upon the teachings of Christ.

Throughout his life Kilgo held that convictions were worth fighting for, and in the field of Christian education he made no exception to this rule. He felt that it was not enough merely to have beliefs, for he contended that truth would never win unless it were embodied in a dynamic movement. Kilgo came to Trinity College feeling that he had been divinely called to guide the destiny of a college that stood for his

theory of Christian education. His conviction on this point was so pronounced that he literally led a crusade in North Carolina in behalf of Christian education. He visited churches, schools, and conferences explaining the merits of Christian education. He delivered his famous address on Christian education in almost every county in North Carolina. In 1895 he was credited with speaking during the year to more people in the state than any other man. Kilgo not only gave to the state a logical exposition of Christian education, but in doing this he aroused the Methodists to a greater enthusiasm for Christian education and a larger support of Trinity College. Then, too, Kilgo in proclaiming Christian education aided the development of the public school system in North Carolina. The administration of Governor Charles B. Aycock was noted for the building of public schools in North Carolina, but it is doubtful if Aycock's educational program could have been pressed so rapidly had it not been for the fact that for six years prior to 1901 Kilgo had been preaching the cause of education in practically every part of the state.

In the last place, John Carlisle Kilgo was a Christian educator because moral and religious idealism were foremost in his academic program. Kilgo did not believe that the securing of an adequate endowment and other material assets completed his work as president of Trinity College; nor did he hail the raising of scholastic standards or the victory for academic freedom as his greatest contributions. Kilgo felt that it was his perpetual duty to keep before the student body the challenge of moral and religious idealism. To him, Christian education meant a positive religious program on the campus.

Through his chapel talks Kilgo wielded a great moral and religious influence upon the students. It is doubtful if any man ever exerted a more wholesome or uplifting influence over a body of college students than did Kilgo in his talks with his boys. Kilgo continued his religious and moral emphasis in the classroom. He taught only a few courses but students never forgot the messages they received through his instruction. When students became ill, Kilgo would visit with them in their rooms and often pray with them as if he were their pastor. He never allowed a member of the senior class to leave college without a final heart-to-heart talk with him. In 1901 Kilgo could report that of the students who had graduated since 1894 all but five at the time of graduation had been church members.

From the foregoing facts which I have presented I believe you will agree with me that John Carlisle Kilgo can be designated as a great

Christian educator. It is, therefore, most fitting that in the renovation building program of Duke University the name of John Carlisle Kilgo should be linked with the Divinity School of Duke University. The educational principles of John Carlisle Kilgo apply not only to the period from 1894 to 1910, but in my estimation they are basic principles of education in any generation. I conclude by listing again the educational principles which were sponsored by John Carlisle Kilgo. (1) The upholding of high academic standards. (2) The securing of adequate financial resources for the college. (3) An honest belief in academic freedom. (4) Leadership in public opinion and the refusal to adopt a spirit of intolerance in order to cater to the changing waves of public sentiment. (5) A belief that Christian education is an education penetrated with the spirit of Christianity, in which the methods employed by Christ are the standards of pedagogy, in which reverence for God underlies all search for truth. (6) The upholding of the religious and moral factors in higher education and the demand that there shall be a union of the forces of religion and education in the common task of producing a noble civilization. It is my hope and prayer that these sacred principles held by John Carlisle Kilgo may always be a vital part of the life of the Divinity School of Duke University.

Religion and the Department of Religion at Duke

THOMAS A. LANGFORD, '54

Chairman, Department of Religion, Duke University

The role of a department of religion in a university must continually be reassessed. In an effort to understand some of the problems and explore areas of promise in our department at Duke, I would like to discuss several major points. The issues which seem to stand out most prominently and merit careful evaluation are those of the relation between a college chaplain and a teacher of religion, the requirement of religion at Duke, and the Protestant heritage of our university and our department.

TEACHER AND CHAPLAIN

One of the most difficult issues to keep clear in regard to the role of religion on a college campus is the relation between the practice of religion and the teaching of it. Is the teacher of religion also to be understood to have the responsibilities of a chaplain? If not, what is the distinction? To clarify the discussion, perhaps we should begin by contrasting the two roles. The stance of the minister is one of worshipful adoration and faithful proclamation. The stance of the student of religion, whether teacher or pupil, is one of critical assessment and candid evaluation.

If this distinction is acknowledged, the role of the teacher of religion is clearly different from that of the campus chaplain. The chaplain has a responsibility to reinforce faith, to proclaim its meaning and its relevance, and to lead in the act of worship. The teacher has a responsibility to investigate the relation of religious expression to its own acknowledged sources, to decipher the interrelatedness of religion and culture and to bring a mind well-prepared in all relevant branches of learning to bear upon the nature and function of religion. The chaplain is proclaimer, and at times apologist; the teacher is investigator and interpreter.

In the academic study of religion an intellectual approach is necessitated. While such an approach does not exclude or attempt to hide

the basic life commitment, it does mean that this task is understood to be primarily rational and critical in nature. To place the emphasis in this way points to the fundamental distinction between the academy (the intellectual study of religion) and the chapel (the life of worship). As members of the academic community, the faculty of the department of religion is a part of the university and shares a primary obligation to investigate, interrogate, evaluate and criticize the religious phenomenon in its variant forms and in its multiple interconnections with the cultural context. This responsibility is an intellectual task and it must be kept distinct, even if it cannot be completely separated, from the priestly and prophetic roles of the minister.

The functional distinction I am making is a matter of emphasis, but the correct ordering of the emphases is absolutely essential if the members of the department of religion are to have an authentic place in the university as an educational institution. What this means, stated baldly, is that the department of religion is not an evangelistic arm of the church. The department has its own special function in the over-all economy of religious responsibility as well as in the economy of academic responsibility.

To describe the roles of the chaplain and the teacher in this sharply bifurcated manner is, of course, to overlook a primary fact, namely, that multiple commitments often inhere in one person. The student of religion who is also a man of faith cannot, with validity, deny either of these claims which impress themselves upon him. The chaplain who is student and critic as well as prophet and priest also feels the same divergent claims. Yet, once again, the primary function of the two vocations is different and the difference must not only be recognized but also carefully guarded.

However, to point to divergent interests which coinhere in the single person does not necessitate a schizophrenic existence for either the chaplain or the teacher. Uncriticized faith is not the faith which the minister has been commissioned to proclaim. Theology underlies faith as its servant, and faith better understood is faith better proclaimed. Cynical investigation which knows beforehand that truth is not to be found in the tradition is unauthentic. It is not necessary to hold that faith must be unquestioning or that interrogation is the denial of faith. Both faith with its questions and questioning with its faith can and do live together in the same man. Nonetheless, some men serve their faith in an academic community as ministers. Others

serve their faith as scholars and teachers. Each has his own responsibilities and in his own way contributes to the practice and study of religion.

THE REQUIREMENT OF RELIGION AT DUKE

There is another important dimension to our discussion of the teaching of religion at Duke and this is the requirement that all students in Trinity and the Women's College take six hours of work in the study of religion. First, let me briefly describe this required work. Each student must take a one-semester course in Old Testament studies and a one-semester course in New Testament studies; or, as an alternative, they may take a one-semester course which covers both the Old and the New Testaments and a subsequent semester's work in one of three areas: the Life and Teaching of Jesus, Christian Ethics or History of Religions.

In commenting upon this requirement, let me make a simple observation. What any school requires beyond the most minimal work in "tool" courses depends almost entirely upon the character of the institution. To require nothing beyond English, math, foreign language and a natural science says quite as clearly what a school is like and what its basic value judgments are as does the requirement of any particular, additional course. Duke, reflecting its history and its purposes, requires religion, and in this it has expressed its character and has maintained a distinctiveness.

It is significant when a school retains what is of value from its past. But a retention of the past which intends to hold on to the past in an uncritical manner or in order to avoid facing the present is irresponsible and indefensible. What, then, are some of the reasons which make this requirement both reasonable and desirable? First, there is the undeniable impact of religion on every culture and, more particularly, on the Judaeo-Christian tradition in Western culture. Let me illustrate this from an experience on the Duke campus. Several years ago Dylan Thomas was visiting our school. In a discussion after his public appearance a personal friend of his asked in private conversation, "Dylan, are you a Christian? I am struck by the way Christian symbolism pervades your work." After a moment's reflection Thomas replied, "No, I'm not a Christian . . . but I do use Christian symbolism . . . How else can one speak in our culture?"

The fundamental place which religion has in the life of man has had inevitable cultural implications and expressions. But the relation

of religion to its cultural context is of a reciprocal nature. Not only has religion influenced its culture, the cultural context has also influenced the expression and interpretation of religion. The intention of the religion requirement is to reveal the religious dimension of our culture and the cultural dimension of religion to our students. Thus, it is an effort to confront our students with their own religious and cultural inheritance. This may or may not have an integrative function in the student's own self-awareness and emotional or intellectual or spiritual maturation. This result the department of religion cannot and does not attempt to enforce. But Duke University was built upon the belief that the Christian faith can have such a function, that learning and religion are integrally related. The requirement attempts to provide the student with a background sufficient to help him understand this tradition and make a responsible decision in regard to this way of life. By including the present requirement of biblical study in its basic curriculum, the university bears witness to its founder's vision of and to its faith in "the eternal union of knowledge and religion."

At present we are faced with a fundamental cultural transformation. There is little doubt that we are now already in what has been called a "post-Christian" era, but which can more exactly be called a "post-Constantinian" epoch. This is to say, we are beyond that point in the movement of Western culture when religion in general or Christianity in particular fundamentally informs our social context. No longer do we have the religious supports which help to strengthen and enforce exclusively religious interpretations of life. Such a cultural change implies two things for our discussion. First, in order to meet the new present and the changing future, it is of prime importance to understand our past. We are entering a new cultural setting, but we do not enter it without a long history, and to understand that history in terms of the interplay of religion and culture will both release us from false claims made on behalf of each of these factors and also provide us with a basis by which we can begin to understand the authentic contributions of each to the other. Second, we are living in a time when it is difficult, if not impossible, to delineate explicitly what constitutes a "Christian" college or university. With the falling away of many of our accepted cultural forms (including institutional forms), we are placed under the necessity of exploring the possibilities given by the new situation and of finding our place within that context.

In the modern university, with its conflict of ideologies and its

variant claimants, Duke has accepted the responsibility of allowing the voice of religious study and investigation to be heard as an integral part of its program. This is no small achievement. For on many campuses "problem solving" has emerged in such a large way that reflection on mystery and meaning has been lost. Religion is not the only reflection upon the mystery and meaning of life, but it is one of the major ways in which these problems have been discussed and answered. And it remains a way which merits continued discussion and evaluation. In addition, the continuing role of religion in our culture requires careful investigation, especially in the new cultural context. The study of religion is not antiquarian. It is, on the contrary, a crucially important aspect of our contemporary self-understanding.

OUR PROTESTANT HERITAGE

This leads to a further point which should be discussed. Since the department is concerned with the phenomenon of religion and its interpretation, it should not feel that any single religious commitment is necessary to achieve its goals. Duke has a Protestant heritage, indeed a Methodist heritage, and this is to be remembered, respected and enriched. But the very enrichment of this faith may well depend in part upon full intellectual conversation with scholars from other religious traditions. Could not an Eastern Orthodox or a Roman Catholic scholar contribute to our investigation? Could not a Jewish scholar enlarge our vision of Western culture's religious inheritance? I think the answer to this is affirmative, and it is worthwhile to attempt to say why this is so.

First of all, from the standpoint of the study of the phenomenon of religion itself, there is no intrinsic reason why any honest scholar cannot investigate the subject matter of religion. And it is narrow-minded to claim that the faith perspective, especially when this is not defined along denominational or sectarian lines, distorts the view which one has of the phenomena. The faith-commitment does, of course, make a difference in the way in which one looks at reality. We have certainly come far enough in our understanding of the intellectual enterprise to know that no man is able to separate his most basic convictions from his rational activity. But awareness of one's commitment, comparison of that commitment to other faith perspectives, and a critical scrutiny of one's own stance are also prerequisites of valid intellectual understanding. Consequently, while the basic faith-orientation of the scholar

is important and does set the framework within which reason works, faith also needs the correction and the criticism which rational investigation can provide.

To have scholars in a department who do not share exactly one's own vantage point means that there should be an increased awareness by each of his own presuppositions through the encounter with different perspectives. The highest service of God in any intellectual activity is to be concerned for truth; we never do God honor even when we, in Job's words, "Tell lies in God's defense." The parochialism which can accrue from isolating one's self within one's peculiar form of the religious commitment is always detrimental. The enrichment of study which can come from shared common interests even by those who also differ is to be desired. If the ecumenical movement has not made any other contribution to contemporary theological activity, and there are others, it has taught us to recognize the richness of the fabric of the Christian faith. And this gain, reinforced by the discussions of Christian history and traditions whether held in common or separately, is one which should be transferred to and continued within the intellectual community of a university.

There is also an advantage in such an arrangement for the student in the school. To be a participant in the scholarly investigations of these common and variant traditions, to listen to the discussion which takes place among the scholars, to be made aware of their own presuppositions and to have the enlargement of vision which might result, are all valuable additions to the spiritual and intellectual maturation of the student.

Two final words need to be added to this discussion. First, what I have said is theoretical. Our faculty in the department is at present composed entirely of Protestants, though seven different denominations are represented. But in principle the foregoing statement represents my own position in regard to possible future developments, and I personally would like to see this implemented. Second, because of Duke's heritage it also seems to me that it is a primary responsibility of the department to represent the best of Protestant scholarship and to have this responsibility stand at the center of its work. This is not said defensively nor apologetically. We do have a tradition, indeed, a significant tradition, to continue; and our obligation to this tradition must be met. At the same time, our tradition is not static, and we must also meet our responsibility to enrich our heritage and thereby enhance the contribution we can make to our students.

THE ROLE OF THE DEPARTMENT

Finally, let us turn to the distinctive role of the department of religion in the university. Often there is confusion over the divergent functions of the department of religion as one of the academic departments in the university and the Divinity School with its responsibility for the training of ministers. There is, of course, the common phenomena which both investigate; and there is the common scholarly responsibility which each must fulfill in this investigation. In addition, there is a convergence of the work of the two faculties in the M.A. and Ph.D. program. But there are also differences. The department is a part of the College of Arts and Sciences with an academic responsibility commensurate with the other departments for the instruction of students. This is not professional training nor can it be evangelistic in its import. The faculty of the department is involved in the general life of the undergraduate and graduate schools and must be judged by its scholarly participation and its responsible teaching in these areas. It is a false notion to think of the department as a divinity school within the general faculty; rather there is a distinctive role it must play.

In the spring of 1964 the department prepared a statement expressing its own self-understanding in regard to its special role in the university. Because of the excellence of this statement and because it has not previously been publicly presented, I would like to utilize it to indicate the over-all philosophy of the department.

ERUDITIO ET RELIGIO

"A highly suggestive maxim on education declares: 'What is honored in the country will be cultivated there.' From its beginning Duke University has affirmed the integral relationship between the study of religion and liberal education, and in the honoring of each has cultivated the other. A distinctive aspect of the philosophy of undergraduate education at Duke is the conviction that the study of religion is not only integral to, but is an indispensable part of, humane learning. This understanding is reflected in the opportunity afforded all students of Trinity College and the Women's College to pursue at least one full year of serious study of religion in the normal degree program. Each student is encouraged through the curricular structure to explore in a lively and critical way the assumption suggested by the Duke motto, that erudition and religion are mutually illuminating.

RELIGION, A HUMANITIES FIELD

“Duke University reflects in its own life and structures the historic continuities and the dynamic changes of our national existence; it also exhibits the tensions intrinsic to change in the context of historic continuity. In this particular situation the academic concern with religion must not be sectarian in aim or spirit. The Department of Religion at Duke understands itself, therefore, like other departments of the college, as simply engaged in humane learning; it pursues the study of religion and the practice of it, but we are concerned that these not be confused. The integrity of either in the university depends upon sustaining the particularity of each. We are concerned that both the relationship and the distinction be understood. Confusion at this point has contributed to developments in American higher education that have driven the study of religion from the curriculum of many universities, and the practice of it to the periphery of academic life. While recognizing the relationship between the study and practice of religion, we intend to clarify the distinction between them; and we intend to do this through a program that exhibits at the same time the essential role of religion in any curriculum claiming adequately to foster humane learning.

“Hence the program of instruction is organized around historical, critical, philosophical, and phenomenological methods of study and investigation. The particular method in a given instance is determined, as in any other humanities field, by the nature of the subject matter itself, the personality and training and proclivities of the teacher, and the learning situation of the student. The study of religion is thought of as intellectual history, in which the professor attempts to exhibit through his sources certain expressions of man’s inner life and some of his deepest experiences. The teacher of religion tries to make intelligible to the present something that has been meaningful in our past. He intends to show with imagination and sensitivity how a particular vision of life or system of thought looks from the inside, and in this process to open up for himself and his students new dimensions of possibility for the understanding of reality. The emphasis is therefore upon a continuing creative apprehension of the past, as this re-lived past addresses itself to the present and anticipates the future.

THE UNIQUE ROLE OF RELIGION

“The Department of Religion recognizes that all the humanities in the curriculum deal in greater or lesser degree with religious

questions ; that any study of history or literature or art or philosophy, for example, engages the religious dimension. Yet the study of religion is not history, not philosophy, not literature as such, however intimately and necessarily all these are bound up together. The uniqueness of religion amongst the humanities lies not so much in its methods and aims as in its subject matter. The particular subject matter that has inspired the ideological expectations of the Western mind is a complex of assumptions and insights that might loosely be called "biblical understanding." No other literature of the Western world has influenced so decisively the affairs of men. At the heart of the study of religion is the attempt to discover and clarify, to examine critically, and to extend and elaborate that whole complex of assumptions and insights found in the Bible. No other humanities study has precisely this unique subject matter at its center. It is crucial therefore that the study of religion be carried on as an independent enterprise alongside other humanities studies in a department that reflects its own autonomy and academic integrity. While keeping all this in mind, our department is nevertheless eager to emphasize the interrelationships of all humanities studies ; it actively seeks to encourage interdisciplinary approaches to all problems. (Hence majors in other humanities fields such as history or English or philosophy or art find many of the elective courses in religion a fruitful complement to their major studies.)

THE HUMAN DIMENSION IN LIBERAL EDUCATION

"The Department of Religion is committed to the view that the most adequate undergraduate liberal education moves finally on some irreducibly human level. We recognize that all of university life depends upon the quality of the people participating in it ; that the character of a given university is dependent upon the kind of persons it can attract and hold. Commitment to learning, like all other commitments, is a form of love ; and what men love in the last analysis is not so much ideals as persons. Hence, while we are concerned as a faculty to be understood as scholar/teachers, we are aware of that elemental dimension of the teaching and learning process which keenly involves human personality. This means that the academic enterprise must always be sensitive toward the personal history of students. This is particularly so in the field of religion, where cultural sensibilities tend to suggest deeply personal involvement. Although the teacher of

religion does not aim to lead students into any particular religious faith, he must be aware of the possible implications of classroom study for personal religious illumination or disillusionment. Although his task is not that of arresting the spread of moral relativism, or directing the student's will or protecting his religious faith, the teacher of religion must be prepared for the student's seeing him in some such role. Such student expectations oblige him to be peculiarly conscious of the elusive but often decisive interpersonal levels of the educational process. Furthermore, the learning situation of the student often casts the professor in the role of an apologist for the religious system under study. While the teacher must reject this role, he nevertheless must be sensitive to the cultural forces that tend so to cast him; and he must be responsive to the implications of all this in his relationships to students. He must make it clear that he is not concerned to do in the university what the Church attempts to do in society at large; yet he must be open to the possibility that the study of religion can result in the enlargement of men's lives, and that this potentiality imposes upon him some extra measure of personal responsibility for his students."

Religion on a State College Campus

MAURICE RITCHIE, '62

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This article does not pretend to speak for religion on a representative state college campus. It speaks by and large of religion on the campus of Appalachian State Teachers College in Boone, North Carolina. If the article has any validity for other campuses, it is because this campus represents some of the achievements and failures of similar ones around the country, particularly in the South.

Religion on this campus expresses itself structurally, from the side of the College, in much the same way as any campus club. The Religious Council is a group of representatives from the several religious communions in the town of Boone as well as the Young Women's and Young Men's Christian Association, the Fellowship of Christian Athletes and others. The Council functions in much the same way as any other campus club. It meets regularly to plan its (religious) activities, sponsors parties for its members, elects officers, etc. Its budget is underwritten partially by the College and in part by the denominational organizations such as the Newman Club, Baptist Student Union and Wesley Foundation.

But the Religious Council, or Student Christian Association, is simply the united front organization which plans and executes the occasional forays into campus life, such as Religious Emphasis Week. From day to day religion on the campus is best reflected by the denominational programs sponsored by the various churches.

Although state colleges have been relatively generous in making their facilities available to the denominations, very few state-supported schools will permit churches to be housed directly on the campus itself. Therefore the churches have purchased land and built their denominational centers as close as possible to the campus, a necessity which has located most religious activity in the centers off the campus.

As a result the ideal for campus ministry which has developed is that of a young, full-time minister with offices located as near the campus as possible. This is the bare minimum. Beyond this are vary-

ing degrees of facilities, ranging from small houses for use by students during the day and evening, to elaborate structures with libraries, TV lounges, music rooms, small seminar rooms, chapels and fellowship halls.

These off-campus denominational centers have developed programs centered, in the main, around their facilities or 'houses'. There are study groups, discussions, forums, recreation, coffee houses and any number of other activities related to these facilities in which the churches have made large investments.

The result of this approach to the campus ministry has often been captivity to a specific sanctuary, namely the denominational house. Not only does the house or center 'contain' all the activity sponsored by the denomination, it also contains the campus chaplains. It is a rare occurrence that a campus minister is able to emerge from his 'student house' to spend any more than a coffee hour or so on the campus with the students. Chances are that his program is so highly developed around the house for which he is responsible to his denomination that he cannot break out of it. This is not so much his personal failure as the limitations within which he must work. The state limits his activity on the campus, or at least the facilities at his disposal there, and the church has yet to provide the funds for an adequate staff which might free him for extended periods of time on the campus during the day and evening.

The off-campus location of the denominational center and the identification of religious activity with the building itself carry a certain stigma of irrelevance, or being out of touch. The church, in the mind of the student, is over there on the edge of the campus. It is not indigenous, it is not a group of students giving witness to their ultimate commitment in the center of the campus and seeking to call other students to the same task in the thick of campus life. It is their ultimate commitment expressed off the campus, over there on the edge of campus life, calling students to a mission away from the campus and not one at the heart of its own life. This off-campus location imposes on the campus minister and student council a special burden to remind students constantly that their commitment is to be lived out in the classroom, the dorm and student 'dives' wherever they are, and not just in the campus cloister, whether it be the wing of a denominational church adjacent to the campus, or the confines of their own denominational house.

Frequently campus ministers and their sponsoring agencies have

failed to recognize sufficiently the limitations of this off-campus status. Denominational authorities have submitted to a kind of co-existence with the university or college. The state grants a limited amount of freedom to actively solicit denominational loyalty from the students on the campus. In turn the denomination restricts its intervention in campus life. It supports student morality, roundly condemns cheating, theft, drinking and other infractions of the moral code, while it provides a specialized cultic life, some recreational opportunity and personal counseling for the students off the campus. Thus the college bolsters denominational introversion while the denomination supports student discipline.

It is this co-existence which has resulted in the ecclesiastical introversion of campus ministries. The church has been permitted to work with individual students off campus, to build good programs for the students who come to them, but—understandably enough—it has not been actively encouraged to concern itself too directly with campus affairs such as student honor systems, sub-standard student housing conditions off campus, or immoral administrative practices within the college or university itself.

Also contributing to denominational introversion in the campus ministry has been the seemingly devastating pragmatism of the sponsoring agencies. The churches are interested in a return on their invested dollar on the campus, and the way they measure this investment is the ability of campus ministers to develop 'strong' programs, 'strong' here meaning numerical support of the activities scheduled by the campus ministers. If there is no steady stream of students through the denominational center week by week, then the ideas of the campus minister must be "too far out" for the students, or he is "too critical of the institutional church," or lacking in industriousness.

If the campus ministry is failing in a number of places—and of course there are many who, for a variety of reasons, say that it is—it is failing because of this narrowly defined, introverted role of the ministries. The denominations have provided, so it would appear, programs which in fact are more interested in serving the denominations than the campus (students). But students are not interested in perpetuating the church as an institution because very few of them are profoundly convinced that the church is that important as an institution.

Campus ministers are becoming increasingly convinced that they and their sponsoring agencies have called students to the church and

then simply rejoiced because they were there, or what is more often the case, wept because they did not come, despite the carefully planned recreation, entertainment, worship and discussions. More and more they (the ministers) are raising the question: What is the uniquely Christian or even very ordinary ministry (service) which we can render the students which is not being carried out elsewhere on campus? or How can we break out of our captivity to Zion (denominational structures) to go outside the gate and 'die' with our Lord (Hebrews 13:12, 13)?

This turn in the campus ministry marks the death of the old role of religion on the state campus. The old approach is dying because there are so many activities available to students and competing for their loyalty that it cannot hold its own. The campus ministry must begin putting itself in a better position to serve students in depth, to take them seriously, to listen to their concerns and questions with utter seriousness, to place its facilities and funds at their disposal. The only way we in the campus ministry can accomplish this is by going where the students are, on the campus. This is no easy thing, neither is it impossible. The most difficult part will be the change in the church's vocabulary; we shall have to learn all over again that the church was made for man, not man for the church. We shall no longer call students to ourselves; we shall go to them with the "bare announcement of God's love" (see Stringfellow quotation below).

If the old approach to the campus ministry, with its call to students to come unto itself, is dying, the new shape of ministry (service, servanthood) will be to find ground on the campus for the church to work in, i.e. to find areas of common concern between the college and the campus ministry. The goals of the church and those of the academic world are not the same, but there are areas of concern, aspects of their natures, which do not conflict but complement each other.

One such area is the academic endeavor itself. Unfortunately the church has not always been as appreciative of academic endeavor as it should be. Because it has looked upon the academic world as a threat to evangelical piety, it has failed to see in the earnest search for truth a powerful vehicle for the work of the Spirit. If Christians truly believe in the depths that the God who brought His people out of Egypt and established a New Covenant with them is the Lord of all truth, then there are indeed common areas of concern between the Bride of Christ and real scholarship. Insofar as real learning represents honest

engagement of the student with the traditions and discoveries of the world he has been given in his birth, it offers a real channel for the work of the Spirit.

The lectern and seminar can serve the church in invaluable ways, not least of all in fostering what Peter Berger has called the experience of alternation (cf. *The Precarious Vision*, Doubleday, pp. 8-22). Through his study of various cultures and societies the student is brought nose to nose with the precarious nature of his own social existence. He acquires a new perspective on society, one which differs radically from the one he had previously taken for granted. Whereas he formerly identified his existence with the apparently iron-clad customs and mores of his society, he now 'locates' himself within a particular social and cultural context, perceiving that his way of life is only one of many possibilities in the world. The creative possibility of this experience lies in the perception of life in all its precariousness, freeing the individual from complete identification with his social origins and roles. The person, be he student or other, is revealed to himself as he is; he is separated from his role, and the society in which he lives is stripped of any ultimate significance with which the community or the person himself might have endowed it. The experience of alternation therefore, though it preaches no 'good news', is capable of destroying false gods in a very real sense.

One dare not romanticize the university simply because it has this great potential. Too frequently it has failed to establish conditions conducive to the experience of 'alternation' and dwelt instead on imparting 'practical' knowledge, i.e. teaching certain job skills or dispensing facts which students are expected to carry directly from the classroom into their future vocations or 'real-life, practical' situations.

Where genuine intellectual curiosity and love of learning already exist on a campus, it is much easier to engage in Christian apologetics and Christian nurture, else one must first blast through a wall of ignorance and indifference before he can say anything at all to the student. For example, if a minister wished to acquaint students with Soren Kierkegaard on more than a superficial level, it is much simpler when Kierkegaard's work is already vaguely familiar to students.

Of course there will be many areas of deep concern on the campus with which a campus ministry cannot be extensively involved. And there are areas of concern too with which a campus ministry wishes to deal that are of lesser interest on the campus. For instance vital

contemporary issues are not as widely treated on this campus as the campus minister would wish.

The Wesley Foundation at ASTC has attempted on a modest scale to find some common areas of concern with the campus. It has directed its attention mainly to the integrity of student life, a matter which should demand much more attention from the College administration than it is presently receiving.

The students at the Wesley Foundation (and Baptist Student Union, for the program was a co-operative endeavor) listed several student problems. They settled on three for special attention: tensions in becoming and remaining an effective teacher, latent homosexuality or the problem of the 'different' student, and the racial crisis. Three so-called 'secular' films were selected which dealt in some way with the three areas of concern. A large lecture room in the science building on campus offered an acceptable screen and sound system, and a competent instructor or professor was chosen to lead a discussion on each film immediately following its presentation. The discussion was desired to assist the students in raising questions pertinent to the concern at hand, but there was no feeling that this was the most important part of the evening. The response to the films was highly gratifying. Students reported informal discussions in the dorms with their roommates, and in at least one instance an instructor devoted his class hour to a detailed discussion of one of the films.

The goal with this project was simply to aid students in raising questions about their lives: namely the questions of their attitudes toward their professors, toward their fellow students, and toward those of other races. There was no attempt to evangelize; no one felt compelled to preach. In fact it was made clear to discussion leaders that they had been chosen because of their competence in their fields and their ability to communicate with students, and that no Christian moral was to be extracted from the film.

With each film the number of students responding to the programs increased, so much so that they had to be moved to larger facilities. There appeared to be genuine appreciation from students for the programs, and significantly enough some asked: Why does a Christian organization sponsor programs like this? The answer of course was no sermon either in the traditional sense: The Wesley Foundation simply wants to help you think a little more clearly about some things which may bother you.

Active participants in the Wesley Foundation have spoken again

and again of this film series, for they have found in it a significance which they have missed in other areas of our center program. They believe that we went to the student, into the very center of his life, and there did what we felt he needed. There was no propaganda, no ulterior motive, only the question: Could it be that we could be helpful to our fellow students in this way?

Another manner in which campus ministries can get on campuses in a significant way is that of involvement in student political issues. There is little to be said for involvement simply for the sake of involvement, but on every campus, from time to time, the student body has opportunity to raise its voice in the government of its own life. Such an occasion came last year at Appalachian when the college administration presented to the student body an honor system for its acceptance or refusal.

The Wesley Foundation decided that it should give this election serious discussion. As the time for balloting drew near, it became increasingly evident that the system proposed by the Administration would be overwhelmingly defeated primarily, it appeared, because of the way it had been presented to the student government. Concern over this issue increased and the student council of the Wesley Foundation initiated a write-in campaign. This was a concerted effort through posters and mimeographed sheets to get students to write on their ballots: "I am against this system, but for an honor system." If this were effective, so the council felt, it would leave the door open for work on an improved system. Otherwise the Administration might interpret the overwhelming defeat of their system as student body rejection of any honor system whatever. The campaign failed, but it was helpful for the Wesley Foundation itself because it opened an entirely new area of involvement for it in campus life.

A more traditional way of getting the campus ministry back on the campus, and one a little more familiar and acceptable to many church people, is through responsible students themselves. This means that mature Christian students seriously evaluate where their presence is most needed: in the campus Christian center or on the newspaper staff, within student government or perhaps dormitory supervision ('junior counselors'). The students may choose to spend more of their time on campus, curtailing seriously their activity in the church. This is sometimes hard to take, for the campus Christian center or Wesley Foundation may be in dire need of that person's leadership. But if we in the campus ministry are going to take seriously the calling of

responsible students to Christian ministry on the campus, we must be willing to accept these decisions to make their witness elsewhere.

These illustrations are intended only to be suggestive of ways in which campus Christian organizations can become involved more directly and concretely in the life of the campus and ministry to it. Leaders of the Appalachian Wesley Foundation are coming more and more to believe that if the theological education which is attempted in their community is to have any meaning at all, it must be carried out in the context of active engagement with the life of the students. If theology is indeed articulated Christian experience, then this will have to be the case before it will have meaning for the campus.

Beyond this the student council is asking how it can put its facilities at the disposal of the students at large. This is already a common practice in many campus ministries, evident from the number of coffee houses and drama groups now being sponsored by campus ministries around the country. Presently the ministry here is actively inquiring among certain segments of the student body concerning their interests and whether there is any way in which its resources can be put at their disposal.

This approach to the campus ministry is active involvement in campus life. In all these efforts there has been active faculty support on a small scale and widespread faculty appreciation for them. (In fact some of the most enthusiastic faculty support has come from men with no ties whatever to the institutional church.) It is sad but true that faculty appreciation for this campus involvement has often been greater than that of the students.

These turns toward the campus have not meant a suspension of the program within the Methodist Student Center itself; this has continued at a strong pace. But students are becoming increasingly convinced that this is not enough, that although the attempt is made to relate everything to campus life, the building itself must not be a fortress to escape the campus but a way-station to serve it.

This concept of ministry has been stated much better in other places. Currently leaders in the Student Christian Movement (SCM) are speaking of it in terms of 'presence'. The task of the Christian in today's world is to be 'present' to mankind, to be 'with' men in their joy and sorrow, their exultation and suffering. The concept connotes identification with and compassion for men in their stations in life. It has been presented effectively in a number of places, but William

Stringfellow has caught it quite well in his book *Free in Obedience* (Seabury, 1964).

Gimmicks, says Stringfellow, may be acceptable for ministry in some instances, but their effectiveness apart from close personal Christian involvement in concrete situations is questionable. In the mission to the city Stringfellow suggests this approach:

... I think, I would go out to scour the land to find perhaps five hundred Christians—men and women, clergy and laity—to commission and send into the city. When I had found and called these missionaries I would tell them that they were to go, probably in pairs, into the city and just live on whatever means of survival prevailed in the block or neighborhood to which they were sent; they would have to live, in so far as possible, as those to whom they were sent. I would instruct them that upon their arrival they should do only one thing: knock on every door. Most doors would not be opened, at least not readily. But when a door opened the missionaries would say: "We have come to be with you because God cares for your life, and, because God cares for your life, we also care for you." Period. There would be nothing more—no invitations to join the Church, no programs to offer people or their kids, no rummage to give away, no concealed motives, and no hidden agendas. There would be just the bare announcement of God's love and the freedom which that love gives people to love each other. (pp. 41-42)

Stringfellow speaks of this witness as the quiet or even secret witness, "an event unknown except to those who are themselves involved in the situation" (p. 43). It becomes public when the Christian people gather openly and publicly as a society to offer God "their involvements jointly and severally in the world's existence" (p. 43).

Getting students on the campus to accept the campus itself as their own personal place of witness and responsibility will not be easy. Students have very limited experience in assuming responsibility for anything when they first hit the campus. They have been catered to by local churches to the point of feeling that the responsibility for ministry lies squarely on the shoulders of professionally trained persons and no one else. Somehow they will have to be re-educated so that they will perceive that the ministry to the campus belongs to them and can belong nowhere else, or as Stringfellow says, that "the witness of the Christian in a place is *his* very presence in that place" (p. 43), not necessarily the presence of some professionally trained person.

No doubt there are some who will see this movement toward the

campus and away from denominational fortresses as a movement away from the Church, away from real Christian ministry and toward a kind of 'secular' gospel. So be it! One of the church's great struggles in this age is that of rediscovering the Holy Spirit, and hopefully in rediscovering Him our vision will be somewhat enlarged. Many conscientious Christians are dejected when they see the Spirit working on the other side of the walls of Zion. Somehow He is not supposed to be over there, only inside Zion. There may be many who are still naive enough to believe that what is needed is a bolstering of the old approaches and structures, a little more energy applied here, a little more money there and certainly a stronger voice against the horrid vices of the degenerate campus. Well, these have all been tried at one time or another in almost every campus situation, and the only consistent result has been failure to build a stronger ministry.

One need only speak with student and faculty leaders in campus Christian work, as I have done in recent weeks, to see the virtually complete failure of the old approach. The conviction is widespread that presently religion is having little if any impact whatever on the campus at large. A hopelessness of reaching the 'mass' of students with anything more than a 'religion for the sake of religion' pervades the campus. Religious Councils or Student Christian Associations search their minds and lists of personnel resources annually for topics and speakers which will 'break through' the apparently impenetrable wall of student indifference towards the church.

The great temptation of man is always to think that there is a gimmick somewhere which he has failed to employ, and that this must account for his failure. None of us wants to admit that we are the failure, our perverted self-worship, our pre-occupation with ourselves, our absolute unwillingness to risk all for the sake of the Gospel, our inability to believe very deeply that in losing ourselves we really find ourselves.

If indeed there is a turn toward the campus, as this brief article has contended, perhaps it is because the church is discovering that she has not understood her nature and role on the campus correctly. Perhaps she is perceiving that her courtship with the fleshpots of Egypt was unfaithfulness to her loving and faithful Groom. Hopefully she is seeing the end of her captivity to Zion and indeed inching outside the gate, even if this be sometimes with great anxiety and hesitation.

To Have and Have Not

What does it mean to say that Jesus Christ is the Lord and Saviour of my life? Without attempting to exhaust all the dimensions of the question, it seems to me that essentially it is to say that in Jesus Christ I find the moment, meaning and direction of my day to day life. Characteristic of this daily life is a shifting quality, an aimless and groundless thrust. It is like a journey in the desert sands; the pathways of previous travelers and, indeed, our own fresh-made tracks, are constantly eradicated by the ever-shifting sands. Even the very topography of life itself is as fluid as the shifting sand dunes; hills appear where only moments before valleys rested. And into this shifting maze the life, death, resurrection and continuing reign in glory of a Galilean carpenter drives a stabilizing coordinate system upon which our daily lives may move freely without fear of becoming lost and perishing. Jesus Christ is the firm foundation. He is a lens focusing the brilliant light of truth, illuminating the darkened and confusing morass of minutiae of which ordinary living is composed, revealing the purpose and direction of life. And I, a senior in this Divinity School, have the privilege of being a special messenger bearing this good news, this saving knowledge—a minister of the Gospel witnessing to the power of this Incarnate Word in the lives of men.

But I confess to you that I'm afraid. I'm running scared. Too often I find myself grasping for this firm foundation as the weaving and entangling patterns of daily life erode my little corner of the rock. My sextant gets out of focus, and I wander, aimlessly seeking that direction and meaning which was once so sure. More often than not I am a minister of the Gospel—seeking that Gospel. And eventually, yet inevitably, I am led back to this firm foundation, to this Word of God, by the good offices of the brotherhood in which I participate. In the common seeking of the brotherhood of believing unbelievers direction is regained and life reoriented to meaning. I am a minister of the Gospel—seeking the Gospel—in the company of fellow seekers.

And it seems to me that he who *has* the Gospel, is precisely he who recognizes that he *has not* the Gospel. He who seeks the Gospel both has and has not that Gospel, and in having and yet not having, truly

has it. And here is the authentic movement of the Christian life—a reverberation of dissonant motions harmonizing in an awareness that daily life is not merely a spasmodic series of chance happenings, but is caught up in an over-arching providence, an ultimate A-OKness, a fundamental soundness. And without this discordant note of doubt and fear the harmony is so sweet that a false security is substituted for the fundamental soundness.

So I'm afraid, running scared in the face of a ministry in which I am proclaiming something that I simply cannot nail down and hang my ecclesiastical collar upon. But perhaps my experience is valid. Without this stress of constantly not having that which I have, my faith would become meaningless and powerless. If I snuggle up too securely in the affirmations of my church I suffocate. Only as I am repeatedly driven forth from the womb of the Mother Church into the devastating encounter with the possibility that this ridiculous little story that I tell is a lot of tommyrot—and then, just as forcefully, drawn back into the only ground upon which my life really thrives, does my faith remain vital. Only as often as I attempt to reject Jesus Christ, and thereby find him anew, is the undergirding source vitalized.

And so, integral to the affirmation of Jesus Christ as Lord and Saviour of my life is the ringing discordance of disbelief. Without this discordant overtone woven into my witness the sound is indeed too sweet. The scheme falls too neatly into place. It becomes an artificial overlay forced onto the unyielding reality of life.

Therefore, I am lodged between fear and hope. Praise God for the fear as well as the hope. Praise God for the sensitivity drawn forth by fear, that it may ever illuminate the hope. In fear I plumb the depths of life and explore every cranny. In hope I soar to the heights of life and map out the whole expanse. In fear and in hope I acknowledge Jesus Christ to be Lord and Saviour of my life. AMEN.

March 25, 1965

—HUBERT T. DAVIS, '65

FOCUS ON FACULTY

DANIEL M. SCHORES, JR., Assistant Professor of Church and Society and Associate Director of Field Education:

This autobiographical note is approached with mixed feelings of humility and pride. Let's trust that they remain in proper perspective.

Two themes dominate as one analyzes those influences which have contributed toward the shaping of my life. The first is that of "tension." A series of contrasts—the "yin" and "yang" energy-modes of Chinese philosophy—continually offer themselves as alternatives from which to choose. Some of these have been: reason *vs.* faith (as symbolized in the choice between a scientific career or the ministry), my urban childhood *vs.* a dedication to the rural ministry, idealism *vs.* pragmatism (e.g., pacifism as contrasted with stereotyped patriotism or faith *vs.* sociological reality), enjoyment of material pleasure *vs.* a commitment to "things of the spirit," the parish ministry *vs.* a teaching position, the "ought" as opposed to the "as is" in personal ethics. By attempting to maintain a careful balance between these tensions—I have long since given up their final resolution—there has come both emotional and intellectual stimulation. Whatever human insight I may have in the struggles others face has come from the struggles first faced by myself.

The second dominant theme is that of the province of God. Even prior to any sense of ministerial calling, it appeared that God was giving purposeful direction to my life by opening new opportunities or blocking self-chosen goals. Later experience has reinforced this sense of providential care. When least expected a new avenue of service might arise. When personal plans seemed defeated, a superior path has appeared. To be able to enter these unexpected "open doors" one must remain flexible yet committed to an overall vocation. Such a self-surrender of one's will has not always come easily. A layman of a church once served provided me with the Biblical text which has since been my lodestar: "My times are in thy hands." (Psalm 31:15) Hymn 322 in The Methodist Hymnal expresses this philosophy in verse.

The facts of my life can be briefly stated. Born and raised in suburban St. Louis, Missouri, I "accidentally" became a Methodist as that was the closest church. Our family was actively religious. Fol-

lowing high school I entered Washington University in St. Louis to pursue my long chosen career of chemical engineering, only to have a period of soul-searching disrupt plans after two years and turn me toward the Christian ministry. Undergraduate studies were thus completed at Central Methodist College, Fayette, Missouri, with the strange combination of a major in religion and a minor in math. Summer chaplaincy at a Boy Scout camp, weekend preaching and a small student charge were the first feeble attempts at professional service.

The love, companionship and understanding of Marie Sessler of St. Louis has been enjoyed since our marriage in 1950. Since then four sons and a daughter (plus numerous pets) have joined the Schores family. It was also in 1950 that I entered Duke Divinity School. A challenging pastorate while in Duke encouraged me toward the town and country ministry, though overseas or inner city mission work was prayerfully considered. Returning to my home conference in Missouri, I then served two Ozark charges (1953-1959). Opportunities to organize and work in two Group Ministries, plus numerous conference committees, prepared me for the God-given (though Bishop-appointed) task of Town and Country Director for Missouri Methodism (1959-1965), during which time gracious permission was granted to further my graduate work in sociology—a field of considerable interest but one in which I lacked any college courses. On a part-time student basis at the University of Missouri a Master of Science in rural sociology and the Ph.D. in sociology were earned, much thanks to a long-suffering family. Considerable ribbing accompanied the announcement of a vacation locale for my dissertation study, “Osage Beach: Social Stratification in a Resort Community.”

Some have asked, “Why do you wish to teach?” No doubt for the same reason I have tried most everything else in life—a strong conviction that God has willed it. Working with people is both a pleasure and a challenge. I agree with Daniel Webster:

If we work on marble, it will perish. If we work on brass, time will efface it. If we rear temples, time will crumble them into dust. But if we work on immortal minds; if we imbue them with principles, with the just fear of God and love of our fellow men, we engrave on those tablets something which will brighten all eternity.

The invitation to teach at Duke Divinity School and help direct the Field Education program was a pleasant surprise as well as an invigorating challenge. I trust that time will prove me capable of entering successfully this newest door of opportunity.

Preaching to be Understood. James T. Cleland. Abingdon. 1965. 126 pp. \$2.75.

This is a delightful little book, in format, print, style and content, thoroughly characteristic of the meticulous artist of articulation who is its author, the Dean of the Chapel of Duke University and James B. Duke Professor of Preaching in the Divinity School. The five chapters in the book represent his mature reworking of ideas and emphases that have typified Cleland's theory of preaching for a long time, and his students of many years will receive them with the grateful acknowledgment of the values that have passed from him to them—sometimes even unnoticed.

The occasion for this publication was the singular honor that befell this Scotsman in *diaspora* when he was invited by the Church of Scotland's Committee on Education for the Ministry to deliver the Warrack Lectures on Preaching for 1964. The five lectures reflect the Dean's feelings about the invitation: He is obviously happy to be in the Scottish Presbyterian setting, for here he can give full expression to some emphases that are only partially understood in his American context. On the other hand, he is clearly conscious of having moved beyond the perspectives of his mother church, and he is careful that these developments be understood before they may be criticized. In the tension of these two motifs, Cleland has produced a book which is at the same time true to his natural self and expressive of his most thorough reflection on the commitments he has made—and in the marriage of this naturalness and thoroughness lies the secret to any good piece of writing.

Cleland's first concern is to clarify what he calls the homiletical "point of reference," namely the understanding of the Word of God in its relation to the words of the Scriptures, Old and New Testament alike. He follows the contemporary practice of demythologizing the 'Word' of God into the 'action' of God, and defines, consequently, the Word of God as "the activity of the living personal Creator, Sustainer, and Redeemer made known in the Bible, in the Spirit, and in the tradition of the church" (p. 32). Preaching, however, is not only in need of *one* point of reference; it must have two. The sermon is oriented 'bifocally' around the Good News of God's redemptive activity *and* the contemporary situation of the people who listen. Preaching only becomes the Word of God when the concerns for truth and relevance are held together. This bifocality, says Cleland, is the "homiletical corollary of the doctrine of the Incarnation" (p. 57).

To secure the two foci of his bifocality, Cleland gives two lectures to the closer explication of the dangers and the possibilities involved. The common heresies are on the one hand, 'eisegesis' (reading into a text what is not really there) and, on the other hand, aimlessness ('drawing a bow at a venture', or, as Cleland describes it, "aiming at nothing, and hitting that nothing right on the nose"). To offset the heresy of eisegesis, Cleland delineates the proper approach to Scriptural exposition in terms of 'investigation', 'interpretation', and 'application', and to avoid the danger of aimlessness he sets forth once again the true craftsmanship of purposeful preaching as he has developed it over the years. In a last chapter, he draws the hearer into the picture by emphasizing that communication is a twofold task: there is a 'pitcher' and a 'catcher' working together as a 'homiletical battery'. Cleland relates various examples of how they are known to work together. One will find his book to be rich in 'pertinent' (a good Clelandian word) illustrations and practicable suggestions.

Cleland confesses in his foreword, that having delivered the Warrack Lectures, he feels almost ready to say his *nunc dimittis*. That may be an honest feeling, but we shall hope to God that the dismissal is a good while off yet. No one is eager to see the voice of this teacher of preachers silenced, for because of him many, in the pew and in the pulpit, have had the urge to say their *bonum est*.

—THOR HALL

Christianity Amid Rising Men and Nations. Edited by Creighton Lacy. Association Press. 1965. 181 pp. \$3.95.

The peoples of the underdeveloped world—what the editor of this remarkable symposium calls “rising men and nations”—are searching eagerly for both freedom and bread, both national independence and adequate food, shelter, clothing, health conditions, educational facilities, and economic opportunities. The result, in an age of unprecedented scientific advance and technological achievement, as well as of acute international and interracial tensions, is history-making revolution, all around the earth.

For several decades new books on this epochal social change have poured from the printing presses, but the number of scholarly writings on the subject from a Christian perspective are comparatively few. Therefore, these nine papers written for a conference sponsored by the Divinity School of Duke University and the Ford Foundation are especially valuable. Here for four days an interdisciplinary group of more than one hundred wrestled with vital issues; not only professional churchmen but also representatives of many different fields of study and activity and varied denominational backgrounds participated in the discussions. The central aim was to see more clearly “the relevance and significance of Christianity in the midst of social revolution.” The resultant volume of addresses by distinguished young specialists (only one over fifty years of age) is certain to command respect in academic and religious circles while at the same time it will provoke interesting differences of opinion and fruitful discussions.

(1) The opening chapter in the symposium is the only one prepared by a Britisher, Roman Catholic, and woman: the famous writer on economics and international affairs, Barbara Ward (Lady Jackson). “Am I My Brother’s Keeper?” she asks and in answer paints a large canvas with bold strokes and rich color. Christianity indeed has something to say because it is inherently a “rebel religion” and humanitarian religion with roots in prophetic Judaism and the dynamic New Testament faith, linked to the creative energies of Western thought and history. The author minimizes Oriental sources of Christianity and exaggerates the conservative and fatalistic elements in Eastern civilizations as reasons for their slow development up to modern times. We should also remember the great epochs of past history and the scientific and benevolent features of non-Christian cultures that are being revived today. (Read Creighton Lacy’s new book, *The Conscience of India*.)

Barbara Ward in on firm ground when she delineates three great facts of our day: the fundamental unity of mankind, actual and potential; the abundance of physical resources available alongside the wide gap between rich and poor nations which must be bridged (one of the author’s favorite themes); and the inevitable trend toward urbanization and its evils, pictured in alarming terms. The need for improved rural life and increased agricultural production is hardly touched, and the population explosion and its warnings are passed by—strange for an economist. To Barbara Ward Christian history and future are an exciting open-ended drama; Christianity in this catastrophic age should not forget that it is a religion of both judgment and hope. Karl Marx spoke with power and launched a universal Communist movement because the Christian Church had lost its prophetic vision. Enough material here for a long series of discussions!

The sweeping statements, awesome judgments and evangelistic fervor do not leave too clear an impression, but we are moved by Lady Jackson's wide-ranging knowledge, as well as her Christian anger and compassion.

(2) Christianity has been introduced to the non-Western world in recent centuries largely through the agency of what are described, and often criticized, as "foreign missions". Over 100,000 Western missionaries (Protestant and Roman Catholic) are at work in the developing nations. What is their role in social revolution? The question is treated in a brilliant essay by David N. Stowe, former missionary in China and now Secretary for Overseas Ministries of the National Council of Churches, U.S.A. With well-organized material and in clear, graceful style, he depicts the strong and weak points of the modern missionary movement. Undoubtedly missions have been the forerunners of revolutionary change and transmitters of Western civilization. Imperialism and colonialism, so bitterly denounced today, did actually serve as a sort of "umbrella" for new concepts and practices that have benefited underprivileged peoples. Now the situation is very different. Colonialism is disappearing. Missionary influence on society in general is declining, the image of the "Christian West" has been tarnished, and the "foreign missionary movement" faces all sorts of new barriers and handicaps. The radicalism and xenophobia in many political revolutions present grave dilemmas and challenges to the Church. Yet the writer sees a continuing opportunity for the Christian mission if it can find common goals with the better revolutionists and express deep and sincere concern for those at the bottom of the economic and social ladder.

Stowe's section on "specific Christian contributions to changing societies" is full of fresh and stimulating ideas such as "cross-cultural interpretation of Christianity," "the mode of indirectness" through ecumenical forms of action, radical indigenization of Christian faith and order, and more adventurous use of lay service in both older and younger churches. Above all Dr. Stowe sees the imperative need for strong Christian witness, through individual, transformed lives, and through the unique "Christian congregation" as a leavening force in changing society. In another paper he might show us how the witness and influence of dedicated minority groups can become more effective in the turmoil of our time and indicate more clearly what he means by "the revolution beyond all earthly revolutions." How is this related to the better life here and now that societies in revolution are demanding?

(3-4) Rising Africa is represented in the symposium by two able educators, Nicholas O. Anim of Ghana and Mariga T. Wangombe of Kenya. They speak as true Christians and also as ardent patriots who rejoice in the freedom that has been won by many African nations and who believe in the future of the African continent and community if it can reveal a distinct "African personality". We can sympathize with their anger and sorrow over the wrongs inflicted on Africans in the past and their impatience over the obstacles to rapid social and political progress today.

(5) The Latin American situation was presented at the Duke Conference by Richard Shaull, well-known for his penetrating book, *Encounter with Revolution*, who views the social revolution as a "struggle for humanization". No reforms so far have greatly touched the basic problem of land ownership and economic, political structures that favor the upper classes. Landowners, 10 per cent of the population, still own 90 per cent of the land. Marxism makes a wide appeal, especially to the young generation, because of its thoroughgoing revolutionary philosophy that responds to the contemporary rebellious mood and awakens a feverish intensity of commitment. There are also contradictory trends, toward both democratic and authoritarian leadership. The whole social pattern in Latin America provides a tremendous challenge to the dominant Roman Catholic faith and to the smaller but rapidly growing Protestant Church.

What makes Shaull's paper outstanding is his use of two new and striking religious movements as windows through which to view Christianity's participation in radical revolution. The first window is the effort of the Jesuits in Chile, who are closely connected with the Christian Democratic Party in that country, to place the Church on the side of revolution through a program of basic social reforms and espousal of a new Christian style of life. They find a "historical coincidence" between the Communist movement and the Christian revolutionary movement. Dr. Shaull is skeptical, however, about possibilities of a "united front" although personal encounters between Christians and Communists should prove fruitful. The second window is the Student Christian Movement in Brazil, which is stimulating much Biblical and theological debate among Christian youth and which is sending many students into difficult and painful identification with dehumanized sectors of the population. "Thus the heart of the Christian-Marxist dialogue becomes the concern for what is happening to man at every moment, the attention to new threats of dehumanization in society as well as sensitivity to the possibilities of humanization present at every moment because of the work of Christ." Dr. Shaull contributes an incisive analysis and evaluation of these two unusual movements and his essay is worthy of most careful reading.

(6) Three addresses at the Duke Consultation dealt specifically with American and Christian responses to the world-wide revolution. John Scott Everton—American Friends Service Committee overseas, three years in Burma as Ford Foundation representative, then U.S. Ambassador to Burma, and now serving in the Education and World Affairs Foundation—is well qualified to discuss the crucial place of education in developing nations. American involvement has been relatively small; out of fifty billion dollars invested abroad since the end of the Marshall Plan only three per cent has been for technical aid, including education. The fifty-two new nations need help in their educational programs which undergird all social reconstruction. The cost of free universal education on the elementary school level alone is almost prohibitive for many societies. The training of top leadership in all fields for these new nations is now of paramount importance. Mr. Everton points to the increasing study of world affairs in American colleges and universities, the Peace Corps, and the growing number of foreign students in the United States (probably 100,000 by the year 1970), as avenues through which world-minded Americans and Christians may respond to educational needs abroad. The fine work of United Nations and private agencies and of the major foundations in the field of education abroad is also mentioned, but no reference is made to the more than three hundred mission and church colleges and universities in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

(7) An adequate sense of community, said Byron L. Johnson in his address, should be our great gift to the developing world. Mr. Johnson has had a varied and rich experience as international development specialist, member of Congress, and now university professor of economics. How can prosperity be shared? he asks. How can a real community be built within nations and among nations, from which both poor and rich will benefit? Many organizations, public and private, are at work on this problem. Professor Johnson's special contribution is the ideal of regional cooperation and federations especially for trade and economic development. He cites the Philadelphia Treaty of 1789, better known as the Constitution of the U.S.A., as a model in this respect. It was a regional federation, with single communications and monetary systems, common external defense and removal of all internal barriers. The appeal for this kind of regional cooperation can be made on grounds of both common interest and self interest. The groundwork is essentially a religious task, helping peoples to know one another and assist one another in practical ways.

(8) Chosen to present the final paper in the series was Paul R. Abrecht of

the World Council of Churches. The theme is serious and urgent, how Christians in both the developed and developing nations can think and work together in response to the surging revolution of our time. The speaker is not afraid to state the difficulties, perplexities and dilemmas that lie ahead on this road. Many Americans, for example, cannot really appreciate the magnitude and complexity of social problems in the rising new nations. Relationships between the so-called older and younger churches are rapidly changing, though the dependence of the latter has not, as Paul Abrecht claims, been entirely removed. Will Eastern Christians accept a Western philosophy for their nation-building or insist upon formulating their own guiding principles? How can we help one another? These are but one or two of the many questions propounded by Dr. Abrecht, few of which can be fully or satisfactorily answered. The main focus in the coming philosophical and ethical debate should be, the paper says, a Christian interpretation of revolution and a new concept of Christian action.

The danger in such a discussion is that sweeping generalizations and visionary proposals by arm-chair theorists may take the place of trenchant thinking and practical measures born of bold experiment and hard-won experience. Fortunately, the director of the World Council's ecumenical study projects gives concreteness and vitality to his essay by quotations from Christians in Indonesia, Nigeria, Cuba, Tanganyika, the Kampala Assembly in Africa, the East Asia Christian Conference in Kuala Lumpur, and the Vatican (Pope John XXIII). And the author ends his fine paper on a strong note from his own deep conviction, commending the role of the World Council of Churches and expressing the hope that it may be able to transcend its western origin, and speak with truth and power to all of our revolutionary world. The whole book can be summarized in the admonition to look for God's purpose in social revolution and to find in the midst of it opportunities for Christian witness and action. The reviewer adds his prayer that the transformation of persons through the Gospel of Jesus Christ will not be overlooked in the emphasis on social transformation. The "Christian presence"—to use a rather new and suggestive phrase—is needed in the midst of all the regions and dimensions and upheavals of our twentieth-century world.

(9) The symposium closes fittingly with a brave and prophetic sermon by the Rev. Samuel D. Proctor, Baptist minister who has been active in many kinds of overseas service projects in all parts of the world, and on the staff of the National Council of Churches. The topic of his message is "The Wrong Time To Be Silent." (Luke 19:40).

An excellent short Reading List adds to the value of this book for private and group study.

—FRANK WILSON PRICE

Director Emeritus, Missionary Research Library
Former Moderator, Presbyterian Church in the U.S.

The Justice of God in the Teaching of Jesus. J. Arthur Baird. Westminster. 1963. 283 pp. \$6.50.

Dr. Baird sets out to correct the prevailing tendency of popular piety to construe the Love of God as a benevolent celestial "softness". A worthy undertaking, it would seem! Comfortable Christians as most of us are, we do need to learn again and again that the Divine Love is never flabby, but searching, challenging, demanding. "With mercy and with judgment my web of time be wove."

Any attempt therefore to focus our attention on the concept of God as Justice both in the Old Testament and the proclamation of Jesus merits applause.

Since Baird's principal aim is to examine the teaching of Jesus on God's Justice, he is committed initially to dealing with the agonizing problem of the historical Jesus. Against the tide of modern skepticism about recovering the actual words or deeds of Jesus, he argues on general grounds for a position of cautious optimism.

In the ensuing treatment of Jesus' sayings, there are many good things: a detailed exposition of the parable of the unforgiving servant (Matt. 18:23-35) and of the wicked husbandmen (Mark 12:1-12); an incisive discussion of the present and futuristic elements in Jesus' eschatological message (although I cannot share his confidence in the arguments he adduces for taking *entos humin* in Luke 17:21 to mean that the Kingdom of God is "within you" in the inward spiritual sense); a presentation of the Cross and Resurrection as an enacted parable of God's Justice in Jesus.

If, throughout, Baird is content with his earlier generalizing conclusions about the historical reliability of the Jesus tradition in the Gospels, and rather uncritically accepted the authenticity of hotly disputed "Son of Man" sayings, for example, or Jesus' predictions of his Resurrection (Luke 17:24-25; 22:18, 29; Mark 8:31; 9:31;

10:33-34), we should not cavil too much. We would rather err on his side than on the side of skepticism.

The palpable weakness of Baird's work is the method he employs for investigating Jesus' teaching. His book is in effect a "word-study" of God, Father, Spirit, Power, Crisis, etc. Some familiarity with the writings of Professor James Barr on *The Semantics of Biblical Language and Biblical Words for Time* would have given Baird great pause about trying to read off from the incidence of such words as *kairos* and *chronos* a particular "philosophy of time" on Jesus' part. And can we deduce from Jesus' various usages of such words as Earth and Heaven and Spirit his own unique cosmology, as distinguished from the popular cosmology of his day (Baird thinks of Jesus' special cosmology as an integral part of his notion of God's Judgment in the affairs of men)?

To be sure it is the "word-study" character of Baird's book that leaves us with the (I think, unfortunate) impression that Jesus was a brilliant theologian, infinitely skilled in describing the various facets of his *concept* of God. But should we picture Jesus as the purveyor of the *concept* of God rather than as the one in whose very words God draws near to men both in Judgment and in Love (Bornkann)?

One other criticism! Baird makes a great deal of the fact that, because we are fettered still to Newtonian physics and have not learned to accept Einsteinian relativity, we have lost touch with the prophetic idea that earth stands under the judgment of heaven, and are excluded from due understanding of the more than three-dimensional cosmology of Jesus. Is that really why we shy away from the Justice of God? Is it merely the obtuseness of one reader that makes him wonder what relevance this has to an explication of the teaching of Jesus in his own time and against his own background?

Stirred by the title, the reviewer was left somewhat disappointed and dissatisfied with the book itself.

—Hugh Anderson

The Central Message of the New Testament. Joachim Jeremias. Scribner's. 1965. 95 pp. \$2.95.

This book consists of a series of popular lectures by Professor Jeremias, the distinguished Göttingen New Testament scholar and Semitic philologist, delivered on a recent tour in the United States. (He spoke at the Divinity School on October 20, 1965, on "Some Characteristics of Jesus' Way of Speaking".)

In Chapter 1, Jeremias treats the use of "Abba" ("Father") by Jesus and the earliest Christians. He deals first with the Old Testament background, in which the use of "Father" with respect to God is said to be rare but significant, and then turns briefly to the somewhat more frequent use of the term in Palestinian Judaism. This is followed by a more extensive treatment of what is said to be Jesus' distinctive practice of addressing God as "Abba," a familiar form which does not occur in Jewish prayers. After discussing the Fatherhood of God in the Gospels and the use of Abba, Father, in the Lord's Prayer and the prayers of Christians in general, Jeremias concludes by asserting the untenability of the position of those who deny the theological relevance of the historical Jesus.

Chapter 2 deals with the sacrificial death of Jesus in Hebrews, I Peter, Paul, the primitive church, and the thought of the historical Jesus himself. Jeremias argues that Jesus did in fact foresee his own death and interpreted it to his disciples, using the suffering servant motif of Isaiah 53.

Justification by faith is the subject of Chapter 3. On the basis of the Old Testament background Jeremias declares: "As in the Pauline letters *dikaïosynē (tou) theou* must be translated, 'God's salvation', so

dikaïousthai must be rendered 'to find God's grace.'" (p. 55) In the subsequent discussion, justification is interpreted as one description of the bestowal of God's grace at baptism. Contrary to some current opinion, the background of Paul's doctrine is not to be found in the Qumran community and literature, but in Jesus' own preaching.

The final chapter is an exposition of the prologue of the Gospel of John, in which Jeremias takes up the proposal, put forward by Bultmann and many others before and since, that John used an earlier hymn in composing his gospel. Unlike Bultmann, however, Jeremias does not believe that this logos-hymn was earlier applied to John the Baptist by some of his followers. This is in line with his rejection of Bultmann's proposed Gnostic background for the hymn. According to Jeremias the affinity of John with the Qumran scrolls is much closer and more relevant.

In a popular book such as this Jeremias could scarcely be expected to establish his conclusions with the kind of thoroughness that is characteristic of his scholarly work. Nevertheless, it is necessary to at least indicate a couple of points where questions might be raised. For example, while I am in complete sympathy with Jeremias' desire to assert the continuity between Jesus and the church's faith, I doubt that so sweeping a positive conclusion (cf. pp. 29 f.) is justifiable on the basis of the use of the term Abba. We are indeed taken behind the church's kerygma by this term, as Jeremias asserts, but no one really denies that elements of genuine tradition of Jesus were taken up in the church's tradition. The question about Jesus is much more complex theologically than Jeremias here allows.

In seeming to reject (pp. 58f.) the position of Wrede and Schweitzer that justification does not stand at the center of Pauline theology, Jeremias asserts that both earlier scholars erred in not asking how justification is

bestowed. Justification is bestowed by God in baptism, says Jeremias. From this point on, however, he appears to be saying that baptism is really the center of Paul's theology and that justification (as with Wrede and Schweitzer!) is a subsidiary factor. "The connection of justification with baptism is so obvious to Paul that he feels no necessity to state in so many words that it is in baptism that God saves him who believes in Jesus." (p. 59) Bultmann's contention that for Paul man is justified only as an ungodly person, and that in himself he does not cease to be ungodly, is rejected. Jeremias points out that even Bultmann admits that Paul never explicitly says this. Yet neither does Paul make the explicit claim for baptism that Jeremias sets forth, nor does he say explicitly or inferentially that "the Eucharist renews God's grace given in baptism for which justification is but one of many descriptions." (p. 65) The argument from silence is at least as dangerous in the one place as in the other! The question is not whether Paul regarded baptism and the Lord's Supper as essential. Certainly he at least assumed them as a matter of course without considering the possibility of a non-sacramental Christianity. Rather the question is whether what we have come to regard as sacraments (the term does not occur in Paul) occupied the central position in Paul's understanding of Christian salvation, as Jeremias seems to think.

Finally, the contention that Paul was the faithful interpreter of Jesus (p. 70) is certainly an exaggeration, as Jeremias' attempt to trace the doctrine of justification to Jesus shows. Jeremias' paralleling of such sayings as Jesus' "Let the dead bury their dead" with Paul's "He who is justified by faith will have life", (p. 70) as if they were really related, is indicative of the difficulty he has in establishing his case.

The title, *The Central Message of the New Testament* promises more than the book delivers, but the blurb on the dust-jacket indicates that Pro-

fessor Jeremias would have preferred the more accurate title "Four Chapters in New Testament Theology". As such it is a rewarding and stimulating little book.

—D. Moody Smith

Charles Wesley: The First Methodist.
Frederick C. Gill. Abingdon. 1965.
239 pp. \$5.

Charles Wesley has long been obscured by his older brother, John, but Mr. Gill has made a noteworthy attempt to show his importance in his own right. The choice of title is a part of this approach: John Wesley may have been the best-known Methodist, but brother Charles was the *first*, both in organizing the Holy Club at Oxford and in undergoing the heart-warming experience which brought the Methodist movement to a focal point in dynamic evangelism. Charles had the artistic temperament, and this led not only to a wonderful harvest of hymns and sacred poems, but to enthusiastic abandon in enduring hardship for the sake of the Gospel, and to exuberant preaching very different from John's calm discourses, even though John included his brother's "Awake, thou that sleepest!" in the standard sermons illustrating Methodist doctrinal emphases.

The author does not minimize the work of John Wesley, however, but points out how in the varied activities of Methodism they complemented each other: "Nothing could be further from the truth than that Charles Wesley was a pale shadow of his brother or that he stands in the background of his brother's work. . . . He, no less than John, established Methodism. Their work was indivisible. John organized; Charles provided the impulse John was the head; Charles was the heart." We can object that this statement is both exaggerated and over-simplified. Sometimes, however, as probably in this instance, exaggeration and over-simplification are necessary in order to

bring about the correction of long-continued errors of judgment.

The author writes with verve and charm, as well as with erudition, as we should expect from his former volumes. He incorporates many little-known facts and representative anecdotes into a fast-moving narrative, so that a genuine portrait emerges. Unfortunately the merit of speed in the narrative is occasionally offset by over-hasty assumptions. Among several demonstrable errors in minor details is the statement on page 19 that "only ten of Susanna's nineteen children survived to maturity, though at one time there were at least thirteen alive together." Nine children died in infancy, and there were never more than ten alive at once. On the following page Mr. Gill claims that "the youngest, Molly, married her father's curate", whereas in fact Molly was the seventh child. Mr. Gill, an undoubted authority on the literary work of the Wesleys, is also strangely careless in furnishing representative titles of their hymn-pamphlets, and of the three he lists on page 207 only one is correctly described. Similarly on page 209 he badly misquotes John Wesley's characterization of his brother's hymns.

Mr. Gill did not set out to produce a definitive biography of Charles Wesley, which would need to be at least twice as large as this volume. He has succeeded, however, in writing a charming work for the general reader which offers much also to the scholar. This attractively produced volume is undoubtedly the best biography of Charles Wesley at present available, and one whose reading by those who would know more of early Methodism should be regarded not only as a duty but as a pleasure.—Frank Baker.

Where We Are in Church Union.

Edited by George L. Hunt and Paul A. Crow, Jr. Association Press. 1965. 126 pp. 50¢ pb.

A Church for These Times. Ronald E. Osborn. Abingdon. 1965. 192 pp. \$1.95 pb.

Christ's Church: Evangelical, Catholic, and Reformed. Bela Vassady. Eerdmans. 1965. 173 pp. \$1.95 pb.

Running far behind Vatican Council II but far ahead of the rest of the ecumenical pack in the publication race is the Blake-Pike Proposal, officially organized as the Consultation on Church Union. In four years of formal discussion this plan for the merger of six major Protestant groups in America has already had its share of ups and downs. From the apparently critical blow dealt by Methodist spokesmen in 1964 the negotiations came through more hopefully in 1965, but there are bound to be innumerable pitfalls ahead.

Each of these three paperback volumes attempts to bridge one of the most serious chasms in the Church: that between top-level conversations and grass-roots understanding. They are on very different levels in themselves. The Reflection Book edited by Hunt and Crow calls itself "a report on the present accomplishments of the Consultation on Church Union". In brief, elementary form it achieves this purpose admirably and should be widely used in local church discussion groups. By explaining simply and clearly the basis of current talks and such "emerging issues" as Scripture and tradition, the ministry and sacraments, it offers a useful basis for further study. It even includes an outline for six discussion sessions, with stimulating questions for the ecumenical "beginner".

Osborn's book stands on middle ground, a very effective analysis of the historical and contemporary implications of Eugene Carson Blake's phrase "truly evangelical, truly reformed, truly catholic" (the first term reputedly inserted at the suggestion of Methodists). The Dean and Professor of Church History at Christian Theological Seminary (Disciples of Christ, Indianapolis), long a participant in the Faith and Order Movement, says frankly this is "not a systematic commentary on Blake's

sermon, nor a formal apologetic for a particular scheme of union". He does, however, begin and end with the convictions that "only by ending the folly and sin of meaningless division will the church in America find strength equal to her task," and that this goal can only be approached when local congregations reach an understanding "of what it means to belong to the universal Christian fellowship".

At its particular level of purpose and effort, *Christ's Church: Evangelical, Catholic, and Reformed* by Bela Vasdasy of Lancaster Theological Seminary appears to this reader the least successful. As a far more profound analysis than the others of what these terms and their theological implication really mean, it provides some very astute observations and some provocative insights into ecumenical issues. But on the whole it suffers from three basic faults: It is at points too complex, too theologically abstruse, for most lay Christians. It reproduces the orthodox or traditional views of Christianity with such an obvious attempt to include everyone and offend no one that every position comes out "both-and". Finally, it resorts to an alliterative "typology" that becomes more ridiculous than helpful; e.g. in "The Christ-Controlled Church" Christ constitutes, we commune; Christ convokes, we congregate; Christ confirms (convicts, comforts, counsels), we conform; by control, continuity, concern, contrition and commitment we enter into the fullness, freedom, finality and faithfulness of Christ!

Whether you aim to sharpen your own theological teeth (or set them on edge) or to engage your parishioners in clearer understanding of ecumenical issues, pastors will find in the next few years that "he is *loco* and/or *cuckoo* who is not abreast of COCU". Here are three introductions; there will be more to come.

—Creighton Lacy

The Other Side of the Coin. Alfred M. Lilienthal. Devin-Adair. 1965. xii, 420 pp. \$6.50.

The subtitle of this book is "An American Perspective of the Arab-Israeli Conflict". Thus, the title means that Americans know almost exclusively the Israeli side of the conflict, and the author wishes to show that the Arabs have a case, indeed a very good case. The word "American" in the subtitle implies that American interests have been jeopardized by this lopsided, pro-Israeli view and that a truly pro-American view requires a more objective regard for all factors in the conflict, including a recognition of the rights and claims of the Arabs. Lack of such recognition, with consequent loss of American prestige among the Arab nations and other nations friendly to the Arabs, has done great harm to the national interests of the U. S. A., says the author, who backs up his claim with good argument and good documentation.

Alfred Lilienthal is peculiarly fitted to write this book. As a Jew, loyal to the highest insights and values of his religion, he is a living proof that Judaism and political Zionism are not identical and ought not to be confused with one another; and that truly American Jews, or Americans of Jewish faith, put the interests of America first, regardless of any other nation. As a graduate of Cornell University and the Columbia University Law School, Lilienthal has the educational equipment needful for an understanding of this and other intricate problems. More importantly, however, he has already proved his ability to write cogently and lucidly on the subject in hand. His book, *What Price Israel?* (1953), is a classic in the field and a hardheaded antidote to the sentimental notion that the founding of Israel was a victory for righteousness and humanitarianism. More recently his volume *There Goes the Middle East* has shown what a great victory for Communism has resulted from

America's pro-Israel policies. The present volume brings the story up to date and adds a final chapter setting forth the author's ideas of how to work toward a settlement of the conflict in the Holy Land which still goes on even though other conflicts, such as that in Viet Nam, temporarily snatch the headlines.

Ministers in the parishes, and faculty and students in theological schools, all have a deep interest in the Holy Land and what goes on there. Many of us wish to visit the land and its holy places, while some of us, like the reviewer, are called upon to undertake archaeological research there. We need information on what has happened in Palestine, and why. If an injustice has been done, we want to know about it. If there is another side of the coin, we want to see it. Nearly all American communications media are under the control or the influence of the Zionists. Thus the service rendered by Lilienthal's books is all the greater.

Before concluding, the reviewer feels compelled to mention another book of similar import that appeared shortly after the one here under review: *The Decadence of Judaism in Our Time* by Moshe Menuhin, the father of Yehudi Menuhin, the famous violinist (Exposition Press, 1965, \$6). Mr. Menuhin is a former Zionist who broke with that movement because of the obvious damage which it was doing to the highest principles of the Jewish religion. Lilienthal's book is more on the political side, while Menuhin's has more religious overtones. Lilienthal is more the hard-headed political scientist, Menuhin more the sensitive mystic, but both come out to the same place: Arabs are human beings, with the same rights and privileges as other human beings; what has been taken from them should be restored; when this is done, Arabs and Jews can resume their ancient friendship and live in peace together, resisting both Western imperialism and Communist aggression.—W. F. Stinespring

Peace, the Churches, and the Bomb.

Contributors: John J. Wright, Theodore R. Weber, Walter Stein, William V. O'Brien, Justus George Lawler. Council on Religion and International Affairs. 1965. 103 pp. \$2.

The most recent publication of the Council on Religion and International Affairs, an organization which devotes its attention specifically to that infinitely complex arena where ethics and international politics meet, is this brief volume of essays. The pamphlet is devoted to a discussion, from the Christian viewpoint, of some of the problems posed by nuclear weapons, especially the possibility of a moral nuclear deterrent.

The unifying factor in the collection is the statement on nuclear arms introduced at the third session of the Vatican Council in the fall of 1964 (Article 25 from Schema XIII). This preliminary statement will be the basis for a fuller discussion by the present Council session and the subsequent issuance of an official document on the subject. Any statement by the Council on nuclear weapons will be of importance far beyond the bounds of the Roman communion. Therefore these essays, to the extent that they are given consideration by Council participants, should be of concern to all men.

After an introductory essay by the Roman Catholic Bishop of Pittsburgh, John J. Wright, the book is arranged in three parts: (1) four essays by Theodore Weber, Walter Stein, William V. O'Brien, and Justus George Lawler, each commenting upon the schema and using it as a springboard for the presentation of his own views on the morality of nuclear deterrence and related ethical questions; (2) a lengthy critique of these essays by Paul Ramsey, in his usual somewhat convoluted prose, in which he shows keen insights into the problem and a penchant for verbose irrelevancy in about equal measure; (3) replies to Ramsey by the four essayists refining

their positions to some extent but mostly refuting Ramsey's critical remarks and defending their original statements.

While Ramsey is probably the best informed among the authors on the technicalities of nuclear strategy, his very expertise seems at times to get in his way. He is determined, furthermore, that the Council address itself only to the moral issue in moral terms, leaving the technical questions to the military and scientific experts. Yet he so narrowly defines this area, and so broadly defines the area in which only these experts have competence, that any Council statement would have to be virtually devoid of meaningful content to meet with his approval. Can the ethical and technical aspects of the problem really be so compartmentalized? O'Brien, Director of the Institute of World Polity at Georgetown, seems more nearly correct in criticizing the schema for not dealing with a clearly identifiable category of phenomena and situations.

In addition, Ramsey gets so involved in some of his "tortuous olympian exegesis" of the original essays that he becomes at times both irrelevant and self-contradictory. On what is perhaps the chief point of contention in the whole volume, the question of whether there can be any such thing as a *moral* nuclear deterrent, Ramsey attempts to distinguish between "a threat of something disproportionate" and "a disproportionate threat". The former is permissible, he believes, especially when a further distinction is made between a nation's declared and real intentions regarding the use of nuclear weapons. Yet he can at the same time acknowledge that "in the nation-state system one can deter war only by postures which, when war comes, tend to drive war on to military actions that are in fact disproportionate."

Stein, philosopher from the University of Leeds, does a good job of showing the absurdity of attempting publicly to maintain a nuclear deterrent while secretly having no intention of using it.

The four essays in the first section accomplish their purpose of raising relevant questions concerning the Council schema. If the schema meant to condemn *all* nuclear weapons as inherently disproportionate (this is unclear in the Council statement itself), the essay by Weber of Candler School of Theology should be given primary consideration by the Council. He points to the additional ethical questions with which such a "nuclear pacifist" position must come to grips. In other essays the Council will find itself criticized for not going far enough in condemning "the Deterrence State" (Stein) and warned against pronouncing on subjects beyond its competence (Ramsey, O'Brien). All four essays can be of value in guiding the Council toward a pronouncement which will be taken seriously by a world in need of some sensible guidelines for avoiding nuclear war. The latter portion of the book loses a good deal of its value as a result of the writers' attempts to score debating points. Though the writers have some widely divergent views on nuclear morality (e.g. Lawler of St. Xavier College, Chicago, declares himself a "nuclear pacifist"), they seem to be agreed that the most imperative task of the Vatican Council in this area is to face up to the morality of nuclear deterrence here and now, not some future nuclear war.

—Allan M. Parrent

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